

THE NONCONFORMIST.

"The dissidence of dissent and the protestantism of the protestant religion."

No. 98.—VOL. III.

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1843.

PRICE 6d.

Ecclesiastical Affairs.

DIVISION.

A FULL lap of blessings—blessings pressed down, heaped up, running over, to that man, whosoever he be, who succeeds in healing a social division! "Offences must needs come: but woe unto him by whom they come!"

There are, as we said, explosive elements enough in human society—a strong tendency in it to fall to pieces, happily counteracted by invisible but certain laws of cohesion and gravitation. In a world composed of individuals, each, in obedience to the promptings of his own will, seeking his own end, there will be, of necessity, many conflicting interests—meetings and crossings in the highways and byways of life, at which human hearts will jostle one against another, and, chafed into hostility, will first wrestle in assertion of superiority of right, and afterwards separate in mutual alienation. Countless are these individual rents in the general tissue of society—inconceivably numerous. And how readily this war of units is converted into one of factions and of classes, every one knows, who knows anything whatever of the history of his race. Ambition has never been wanting to seize upon the critical moment, and to generalise, for its own selfish conclusions, individual disquietudes—to range ill-feeling into masses—to systematise its movements—and lead it forth to the work of destruction in organic sections. It matters but little what may be the colour of the banner under which men go forth to measure strength with their fellow men—or what the motto inscribed upon it, whether social, political, or religious. Any rag will serve, and any word of discrimination, any shibboleth will do—and at the beck of one fool, a thousand fools will start up, and waste the intellect, the energies, the passions, the time, which their Maker has given them, in a blind struggle with some other thousand.

Aye! 'tis a strange world this—a marvelous world! Some people fancy that there is nothing seriously the matter with it—but if so, the social phenomena ever showing themselves, like the blotches which indicate "the king's evil," are not only extraordinary, but perfectly unaccountable. See, now! what a propensity there is in man, whenever he passes his fellow man, to clench his fist, and set his teeth, and throw into his muscles a sufficient stiffening of animal energy! What a mere trifle will serve to put him upon the work of contention! How eagerly he rushes into strife, without troubling himself a doot for the adequacy of the occasion! The English dramatist has well depicted it:—

Abram.—Do you bite your thumb at us, sir?

Simpson.—I do bite my thumb, sir.

Abr.—Do you bite your thumb at us, sir?

Simp.—Is the law of our side if I say—ay?

Gregory.—No.

Simp.—No, sir, I do not bite my thumb at you, sir; but I bite my thumb, sir.

Gre.—Do you quarrel, sir?

Abr.—Quarrel sir? no, sir.

Simp.—If you do, sir, I am for you: I serve as good a man as you.

Abr.—No better.

Simp.—Well, sir.

And, unhappily, this setting up of the back, this sensitiveness of bristles, this readiness to start, and growl, and snap, is a social as well as an individual characteristic. It would seem as though the whole business of men here below was to combine in order to render combination impossible—to come together in a community of wrath, lest, perchance, they might come together in love. Look at the main objects of party in the present day—in all days. Do men confederate to build or to destroy? Almost invariably to destroy—to pull to pieces somewhat which serves as a centre of union to others. And so it happens from one generation to another, that well nigh every distinct section of society is an Ishmael, and human peace and happiness are torn into shreds by the revolution of a wheel covered with sharp spikes, the sole business of which would appear to be to tear, to waste, and to destroy.

Such, then, being the case, we think it not unreasonable, in estimating the worth of a system designed to secure spiritual instruction to the people, to examine its bearing in reference to this social characteristic. We think it wise to ask at once, how does the principle act upon the irritability of human temper? Is it, in its own nature,

exasperating? Does it rub the hair of the public from point to root, or from root to point? Is there any aptitude in it to tread on the corns of man's nature? Will it add another element of disunion to those already in operation? Is it a cement or an adze? a thing to hold together separate parcels of society, or to split those which now cohere? Such inquiries we hold to be to the point. Here is an obvious tendency to evil—a predisposition to soreness—a defect, or rather, a disease mixed up with the elements of our social organisation, and ever ready to develop itself. Does, then, the principle upon which we seek to base the support of Christian institutions inflame or soothe this tendency? sting as a mustard plaster, or mollify as spermaceti? A correct answer to this inquiry, it is clear, will go far to determine the value of the principle in question. Because, if it be found that this system, or its opposite, can be justly charged, like Helen Moss, of West Indian notoriety, with rubbing pepper into the eyes of society, however respectable in other views of it, we deem this to be a sufficient condemnation of it. It must be dismissed as unworthy of our confidence.

We are not ignorant of the fact that some such charge has been preferred against the voluntary principle. Many people suppose that it goes about bearing extant a universal challenge, after the fashion of the Prince of Wales's dog, upon whose collar was engraven the following combatory couplet—

"I am his Highness's dog at Kew,
Pray tell me, sir, whose dog are you."

Lord Brougham, who is remarkable, as all the world knows, for caution, who was never caught making a rash speech, affirming whereof he knew nothing, or meddling with matters beyond the reach of his present information—Lord Brougham, a grave authority in matters spiritual, has told us, that but for a state church, Christianity would be split up into a thousand discordant sects; and herein the Roebucks follow the great lord of literature, philosophy, and political economy. Now, without meaning any disrespect to Lord Brougham, who, as Napoleon said of himself, cannot be everywhere, there never was uttered a single sentence, containing, in so few words, such a cluster of absurdities and blunders. If differences of opinion upon topics of religion, and honest avowal of them, be the evil denounced by the ex-chancellor—if the association of men according to their agreement in faith be really a calamity to be shunned with pious horror, then would it seem strange that this man should advocate, as indeed he has done with wonderful energy and effect, the principle of toleration. The compulsory principle may prevent an open avowal of distinctive opinions—but can it prevent them? By external restraint it may hoop together those who do not think alike, making them pass as if they did think alike, but no more. But, what? Can there not be unanimity without uniformity? Cannot men peaceably and charitably associate in accordance with their own special views without exhibiting the discordancy of sectarianism? And if not, how does an establishment mend the case? Why should not men differ just as much in its presence as in its absence? We know the answer—and we must say that it does but little credit to Lord Brougham, and less still to the system he undertook to recommend.

But the truth is, the compulsory principle is answerable for a large share, not indeed of the differences of sentiment obtaining in the religious world, but of the bitterness of spirit with which they are maintained. It does not furnish the several blades, but it grinds every one of them to the sharp edge of hostility. It keeps up a general sense of irritation. It converts varieties of opinion into varieties of *caste*, by constituting what may be regarded as a standard caste. This is an evil which, as we have before said, is inseparable from the establishment of religion. "Men's respectability is measured by their theological creed, and their station in society determined by their views of divine truth. Hence, cordial co-operation for the attainment of objects, the value of which both sides admit, is in most cases prevented. Every village has two distinct sets of apparatus for doing good—the one worked by churchmen, the other by dissenters. Every town has its exclusive circles of social enjoyment—the one appropriated to churchmen, the other to dissenters. Every section of society is thus split up into incoherent parts. Many are the schemes of usefulness which

have been abandoned, owing to the absence of good feeling between the favoured and the degraded sects. Still more numerous are those which from the same cause are worked inefficiently. Into every corner of the kingdom the state has thrown the torch of discord by its injudicious meddlings with religious opinion, and has transmuted difference of belief into personal alienation of feeling."*

The voluntary principle has no sin of its own to answer for, and certainly in respect of sectarian divisions, must be acquitted of all charge. Let it not be mistaken for congregationalism, the testiness of which, too, is excited by the maintenance of religious ascendancy. But the voluntary principle—Christian willinghood—how is it to blame? It leaves every man to act in harmony with his own convictions. It exacts no tribute. It inflicts no penalty. It stimulates none but an honourable competition. Under it, indeed, may be found the jealousies and bigotry of spiritual division—just as the same and other evils may be discovered under Christianity. But it is not answerable for them. It does nothing to engender them, nothing to aggravate them. On the contrary it is the pure water in which the true medicine is administered, the transparent and colourless medium, which serves to transmit to men's hearts the rays of divine truth—the healing light of revelation. It encourages no division but a division of labour. It is peaceful as the gospel, placid as the course of nature, and viewed in relation to the evil we have glanced at even now, it is, and ever has been,

"—more sinned against than sinning."

SEIZURE FOR CHURCH RATES.—It is well known that the society of Friends are steadfast in their refusal to pay church rates or any other exaction of the kind, for the support of a system of religion from which they dissent. On Monday last, Sup. Russell went round to the houses of the members and demanded payment of the arrears of rates. According to custom, the friends refused to pay, and in a short time after, Sergt. Hambidge and some person in plain clothes followed him and made the following seizures. From the shop of the bread and flour company they stole—we beg pardon, carried away would be a more legal term, a sack of flour worth £1 19s., in payment of a demand of 19s. 8d. for rates, and 10s. 6d. costs. From the shop of Mr Carver, they took boots and shoes to the value of £2 5s., in payment of a demand of £1 5s. 11d. for rates, and 7s. for expenses. From Mr Barrett's (the maltster's) they took a quantity of malt to pay a demand of upwards of £3 for rates and costs. From the shop of Mrs Waterfall, they took a quantity of loaf sugar—rather too large a quantity, for we understand they were compelled to return some. A similar thing happened at the house of C. L. Hartford, Esq., Italian Villa, whence they took a quantity of plate. From the house of Mr Samuel Willett, plumber, Bath place, they took 2cwt. and 22lbs of lead, worth 17s. per cwt., in taking which they broke two panes of glass; cost of repair 1s. 6d. The amount demanded here was £1 2s. 6d. In this case, the lead was offered for sale at the shop of Messrs Baker and Son, tinmen, who refused to buy it, remarking that they were afraid it was stolen, and did not choose to purchase it. The articles have been valued, and remain at the station house for the present. We hope the victims of this legal spoliation will insist upon a public sale, and not permit the matter to be "hushed up," as the church rate party seem so much to desire.—*Cheltenham Paper.*

SEIZURES FOR CHURCH RATES.—On Tuesday last, the goods of Mr Johnson, currier, and Mr Bonner, broker, two dissenters of Thame, were sold by auction under a seizure for church rates in that town. Mr Howland was the auctioneer. 311lbs of "butt" leather was seized from the former, and a mahogany four-post beadstead from the latter. The goods were sold at the Red Lion in four lots. The first was 211lbs of butt soleing leather, bought by Mr Henry Phillips, cow dealer, at 1s. 3d. per lb.; the second and third lots of leather were "belly pieces" of the above kind, and were purchased by a person from Oxford; the beadstead was bought by Mr Davies, blacksmith, of Thame, for £1 5s. Davies was one of the constables who made the seizure, and he is also brother-in-law to Mr Bonner. There were a considerable number of persons present. The Thame shoemakers did not appear to bid at all. Considerable disapprobation was manifested by persons present at the scene, but the auctioneer treated the matter cavalierly, saying he intended to be good-humoured, and should be so.—*Oxford Chronicle.*

CHURCH RATES, DOVER.—On Monday week several persons were summoned before the Justices'

* "The Nonconformist's Sketch Book," pp. 80, 81.

court, Dover, by the churchwardens, for refusing to pay the church rate. Mr Gravener, the vestry clerk, appeared in support of the rate, and produced the book. Mr Edward Adams was the first case called; when Mr Bass, as his attorney, requested the production of the vestry book shewing the orders of vestry to which the rate book referred, which was also produced. The vestry, it appears, had, at the recommendation of the auditors, refused to include the minister's stipend in the rate granted in December last; and that the auditors had made a rate of 3d. in the pound by direction of the vestry. Mr Bass took an objection to the rate, on the ground that the auditors who made it were not properly authorised, inasmuch as their functions ceased immediately on their passing the resolution deferring to make the rate; because the order of vestry, by which they were appointed, directed them to make a rate on the 23rd instant, which they did not do, nor did they pass any resolution expressly to adjourn; and that to authorise them to make a rate they should have been re-appointed by the second vestry; and that the notice by which that was convened, should have expressed that it was called for that purpose. A long discussion ensued between the two parties; and the magistrates at length decided that finding the objection was made by Mr Bass in good faith, and that it amounted to a question of the validity of the rate, the justices had no power to determine. They must, therefore, dismiss the summons. This decision disposed of about twenty other cases, for which summonses for the same rate had been issued. The *Dover Chronicle*, from whose columns the above report is condensed, contains also a letter from Mr D. Palfrey, wherein he informs those friends and rate payers of St Mary's, Dover, who have contributed towards the expenses of his late church-rate suit, that the amount of contributions has been about £37; and that he is still a loser of the sum of £79.

HUDDESFIELD VICAR AGAIN.—On Thursday afternoon, this redoubtable son of old mother Church hired two dark Philistines, one of whom fell upon Mr William Cawthra, currier, of Commercial street, and with true Christian zeal took away six chairs from his house, in lieu of one shilling and seven pence, which Mr Cawthra had neglected to "offer" to his reverence last Easter; and the other proceeded to the domicile of Mr Jabez Todd, of Upperhead row, and seized one fitch of bacon (45lbs), with which he got clear off. Mr Todd, we believe, had unfortunately been beclouded by a similar awful obfuscation of mind, having neglected to "offer" the same sum! The chairs have been taken to the Jerusalem chamber, in the new vicarage, and the bacon being nice and "home fed" has been deposited in his reverence's larder, for the purpose, we understand, of greasing his vegetables during the approaching "fast" days! Oh! rapacious mother Church, thy maw is never satisfied; and thy house will ne'er be furnished!—*Leeds Times*.

DECREASE OF DISSENT.—The Bishop of Chester has had, during the last few months, upwards of 30 applications from dissenting ministers for admission into holy orders.—*Times*.—Fudge!—*Patriot*.

LADY HEWLEY'S CHARITY.—The unitarians having been ousted from the trusteeship of this charity, a question arose as to their legitimate successors; and the Master in Chancery reported that the administration should be confided to two members of the kirk of Scotland, two from the secession church, and three from the English independents. The independents, the promoters of the suit against the unitarians, were displeased with this arrangement, and raised an argument in the Vice-chancellor's court, on Monday, whether so large a share in the government of the charity should be given to individuals subject to a "foreign" church, who might, by uniting their power over the administration of the charity, obtain a majority in the trusteeship, and effect an absolute transfer of the whole benefit of the charity to Scotland. The argument was resumed on Tuesday, and again on Wednesday and Thursday.

THE CHURCH EXTENSION SCHEME.—The heads of the church have declared themselves much disappointed at the answer which Sir Robert Peel has given to the application for funds, to be advanced by the government, in aid of what is called "church extension"—that is, for building churches, at the expense of the whole community, for the clergy and purposes of a part of the people. The Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, who in fact lead the whole bench of bishops by the nose, have had daily consultations within the last few weeks with Peel, Goulburn, and Gladstone. The episcopals are said to be very much annoyed that they are not recognised by a parliamentary grant, no matter how small, and on this point they are at this moment at loggerheads with their own chosen minister. When rogues fall out—I need not tell you the result.—*Hants. Independent*.

"THE WEAKEST GOES TO THE WALL."—Of the sum entrusted as a grant for national education to the committee of council, during the last year, £27,656 were assigned to the various applicants, and accepted by them, chiefly in aid of buildings which they proposed to erect. Of this sum, £150 went to a Roman catholic school; £1,170 to schools connected with the British and Foreign society; £980 to schools in Scotland; and £25,556 to schools connected with the church of England.—*Journal of the Statistical Society*.

PROGRESS OF POPEERY.—The Romanists in the eastern division of England are taking active measures for the propagation of their doctrines. Chapels have been erected in places where two or three years since there was not one member of their communion, and an ecclesiastical seminary on a large scale is to

be established without delay. Gifford hall, at Stoke by Nayland, has been purchased for the purpose, and will be opened in the course of a few weeks.—*Western Times*.

MODERATION OF THE CLERGY.—Speaking of the Premier's mockery of a measure of "church extension," the *Church and State Gazette* observes—"The church can, will, and must place those men in power, who belong to the true conservatism of the land; viz., that which is Christian and protestant, as well as that which is protective of the landed and hereditary interests of the empire. The next general election will show Sir Robert that the Christian electors of the land are much more anxious for the souls of the rising and existing generations, than they are about the price of wheat, the duty on sugar, or the tariff, or sliding scale." They know better. Sir Robert might well say, for well he knows, that this is all pretence. He is not afraid the clergy will quarrel with their pudding.

UNANSWERABLE OBJECTION TO CHURCH EXTENSION.—The registrar-general, Mr Graham, says:—"Of 100 men married in Cumberland, only 16 signed the register with marks, 19 in Westmoreland, 19 in Northumberland, 19 in the East Riding of York, 23 in the North Riding, 46 in Cambridgeshire, 46 in Worcestershire, 47 in Suffolk, 47 in Essex, 52 in Bedfordshire. It may be worth while to inquire into the systems of education which lead to such different results in these counties; for the difference of intellect, habits, and occupations can scarcely account for the remarkable fact, that 84 in 100 men can write in Cumberland, 81 in the East Riding of Yorkshire, and only 54 in 100 in Cambridgeshire, and 48 in 100 in Bedfordshire."—Of the counties above specified (observes the *Morning Chronicle*), those which have most uneducated men have also most churches. Suffolk, for instance, has been termed, *par excellence*, the parson's county, and Essex may almost vie with it; yet these, after Bedfordshire, are the most uneducated counties.

The *Ecclesiastical Gazette* advertises a "curate wanted" in "a delightful situation, of fashionable resort!" and also a clerical situation wanted, by one who requires a house and a stipend, "but within fifty miles of London!"

MORE TROUBLES OF THE KIRK.—The government have raised, in the name of the officers of state, an action of damages against a presbytery in Argyleshire, for refusing to settle an unacceptable presentee in the parish of Muckairn, and we understand that the damages they claim amount to £15,000, although, by a recent decision of the court, the patrons get the vacant stipend. This step on the part of the government is decisive, and puts an end to all prospect of a settlement of the church question, if any such remained after the letter of Sir James Graham.—*Caledonian Mercury*.

THE CHURCH.—On Tuesday night Dr Candlish and Mr Dunlop left Edinburgh for London, on the affairs of the church. It is understood their object was to advise with Mr Fox Maule on the subject of his motion which stood for to-morrow—a motion which now must be postponed, in consequence of the death of the right hon. gentleman's father-in-law, Lord Abercromby, and which will probably be moved in Mr Maule's absence by Mr Maxwell Stewart, or some other friend of the church. In the event of the prayer of the petition being granted, that the church may be heard at the bar of the house, it is understood that Dr Candlish will himself plead the cause of non-intrusion at the bar of the house of Commons. Dr Chalmers, Dr Macfarlane of Greenock, and Dr Cook of Belfast, have been mentioned as his coadjutors, though we believe it is not certain if any of these rev. gentlemen will be able to proceed to London at the present time.—*Edinburgh Courier*.

STEWARTON CASE.—We are authorised to state, that this case has been appealed to the House of Lords.—*Witness*.

CASE OF THE REV. MR BREWSTER.—From a report of the proceedings of the Paisley presbytery, elsewhere inserted, it will be observed, that that illegally constituted, and most disorderly assembly, have this week allowed a libel, against Mr Brewster, to be laid on their table. Mr Brewster has nothing more to fear from the decision of this unconstitutional convocation of libelers than he has to fear from a decision of the high priest of the Jews. The presbytery are perfectly aware of their utter impotence in this respect; yet they still encourage his prosecution. While the drunkards and thieves of their cloth can set the decisions of such courts at defiance, Mr Brewster can easily do the same thing, and with this advantage in his favour, that while the thieves and drunkards disgust the public mind by their thus retaining their status in the church courts, Mr Brewster will hold his seat and pulpit with the joy and approbation of the public of all classes and all creeds in the country.—*Glasgow Saturday Post*.

THE SECOND STEP.—The leading non-intrusionists of St Andrews held a meeting last week, when it was finally resolved that a non-intrusion church, in the shape of a wooden booth, should be erected, and that measures should be adopted to ascertain what money could be got for this purpose. Subscription papers are accordingly in circulation, and several sums have been subscribed for the erection mentioned, and annual subscriptions promised.—*Fife Herald*.

Sir Herbert Jenner Fust, dean of the Arches and judge of the Prerogative court, has been elected Master of Trinity hall, Cambridge, vacant by the death of Dr Le Blanc.

Correspondence.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR—It has often been to me a matter of surprise, as well as of regret, that of the many thousands who annually emigrate from England to this country, there should be comparatively so few of a class who are much more needed here than any other; I mean female domestic servants of good character. I presume that a doubt as to finding employ on their arrival may deter many from making the experiment, and it is with the view of removing such doubts that I now venture to ask you for a small space in your columns.

During a residence of more than eight years in this country, I have paid, for female "servants of all work," from a dollar and a half to two dollars per week; more frequently the latter price than the former. At present I pay but a dollar and a quarter; but the girl is but young, and receives much assistance from the other members of my family.

The above rates of wages are those which are usually paid in the smaller cities and towns; in larger cities, such as New York and Philadelphia, more may perhaps be given, but the difference would be more than counterbalanced by the deprivation of many comforts which are to be found in the former.

One thing cannot be too strongly impressed on all who wish to make the exchange of country; namely, if they land in New York, unless that city be their ultimate destination, not to remain there, if it can be avoided, a day after their arrival, but to push on to this city, or New Haven, or any of the larger cities in New England; and I am perfectly sure that any young woman who could bring with her satisfactory testimonials as to character, could not fail of meeting with immediate employment.

I would strongly advise that no one should come here without bringing such testimonials, more especially if they can be procured from the minister of the church or congregation to which the party may belong; these would at once procure the applicant admission into such a family as her previous religious education would lead her to prefer.

Preference is invariably given in this country to English girls, in consequence of the respect which they manifest to their employers, and which places them in so strong a contrast with native "help." Next to the English, the preference is given to Irish, who literally swarm wherever you may go. I suppose that in this city, with a population of 10,000, at least one-half of the female servants are from Ireland; and several instances are now within my own knowledge, in which they have saved from their wages sufficient to bring their parents over to join them here.

Should you think the above likely to be of any benefit to the class for whom it is intended, your insertion of them will oblige the writer; and if you can afford space in your columns, I shall be happy to reply, through their medium, to any inquiries which may be addressed to me through the same channel. I have long had the subject on my mind, but do not know that I should have troubled you just now, had not my attention been called to it by an article in your paper of 7th December, headed, "Low Wages."

I subjoin my name and address, with reference to parties of such respectability, as will, I doubt not, satisfy you, that reliance may be placed on any statements that I may make.

AN ENGLISHMAN IN AMERICA.

Hartford (Conn., U. S.), 30th Jan., 1843.

OBSERVATIONS CONTINUED, ON "THE RELATIVE CLAIMS OF THE ANTI-CORN-LAW LEAGUE AND THE SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT."

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR—The declaration of the suffrage convention in favour of free trade would have placed the whole movement in the best possible position with regard to the country at large, by proving their hostility to all monopoly, and by for ever silencing the cavils of those who profess to be sceptical on this particular. And the unavoidable union, though but temporary, with a party avowedly opposed to this principle, rendered it doubly desirable that the public should clearly understand the limits of that union; and should be authoritatively informed that, while one party intended the overthrow of political monopoly alone, the other was purposely bent on the breaking up of commercial monopoly also. The character of the union would then have been perfectly plain; and it would have appeared to the whole community that the advocacy of the suffrage was in order to secure, among other ends, a complete freedom for commerce.

It is not, however, to the absence of such a declaration alone that considerable numbers hesitate or refuse to support the suffrage movement, and thus weaken its actions by withholding their aid; but the bare fact that certain parties were accredited members of the late convention who, directly or indirectly, were notoriously connected with the disturbances of last autumn, has surrounded the enterprise with an appearance which, to whole districts, is the reverse of what is honourable and inviting. In vain do we appeal to our published sentiments; in vain do we assert our fundamental laws as sufficient guarantee for our abhorrence of violence; they oppose the fact to our theories, and, in the teeth of reiterated protests, charge us with an implied sanction of deeds which we never essayed to condemn.

To those who understand, in but a superficial degree, the principles of the complete suffrage party, it would be a waste of words to attempt the refutation of such a charge; their known characters, their declared principles, and above all, their modes of action, defy its application to themselves in the remotest form; but it serves the purpose of our adversaries to insinuate where they cannot argue, and to defame by assertions which they cannot prove. We might pass by the insinuation with silent and deserved contempt, though some public journals have polluted their pages by attempting its publicity, were it not for the community whom it may deceive. On their account alone we cannot too frequently insist on a distinction plain enough to all but those who shut their eyes.

Then, between the "charter" and "chartism" a wide gulf of separation exists. The document called the "people's charter" stands unrivalled as a compendious statement of the principles of true liberty. To an extended recognition of profound political truths it superadds the utmost simplicity of language in their exhibition; advancing from the assertion of first principles to practical details, it adumbrates modes of application

NONCONFORMIST

scarcely susceptible of improvement—it disdains, with a noble negligence, the cumbrous forms of legal verbosity, and states the greatest truths in the plainest words—basing its principles upon reason, it appeals but to reason for the means of their adoption—and, avowing as its sole object the happiness of the people, it claims for the people that self-government without which they never can be blest. It is not surprising that such a document should have attracted and secured the attachment of millions of the people. They have become enamoured of a cause well worthy of their warmest devotion; what pity, then, it is that its admitted advocacy should have run counter to their praiseworthy intentions.

But this very course "chartism" has pursued. Taking up the name of the charter as the watchword of their party, the chief advocates of chartism have employed it as a pretext for deceiving the ignorant. In the sacred name of liberty they have practised the most odious tyranny, and denied the liberty of speech to all but themselves. The "reason," of which the charter is the offspring and evidence, they have systematically abandoned, and appealed for success to the brute force of the people. By insinuation and invective they have severed the classes that compose the community, and fearfully disorganised what they professed to unite. In a word, they have enveloped the "charter" in an atmosphere of suspicion, and driven back the cause of the people to a position from which years of diligent toil will scarcely deliver them.

Between these two causes there is plainly a wide separation. The one is the cause of truth and liberty—the other of violence and confusion. With the one is identified the true interest of the people—with the other that of a turbulent section alone. The suffrage party therefore took up the one, but from its beginning, denounced and repudiated the misdeeds of the other. And, in taking up the charter, which it did for the purpose of embodying the whole of its principles in a new form, it commendably sought to deliver from unmerited opprobrium a cause deserving of a better fate. It aimed to stamp with honour and respect an enterprise which impious hands had profaned and prostituted to the worst of purposes.

But with "chartism" the suffrage movement was never identified. The presence of its advocates at the late convention was an evasion of the terms that called it together, nor was the misfortune discovered until too late for a remedy. But notwithstanding this circumstance, the object and results of that convention will be appreciated and honoured in proportion as they become known. The new embodiment of the charter, in a form required by its parliamentary advocates, will ultimately prove the high importance of the action; and when its noble principles are better known, when the safe-guards which it throws around the liberties of the people are more clearly understood, when its claims on public regard are fully discovered and allowed; then, when the unjust insinuations of the interested and the ignorant shall have passed away in their deserved oblivion—the suffrage party will have no cause for shame that it took up the charter.

One other cause prevails to give the preponderance to the "League" above the claims of the suffrage, and that is, the pressing necessity for repeal in the woful distresses of the people. There is unquestionable power in the argument, that the people may do without the suffrage, but they cannot do without food! In this argument every sentiment of right reason, humanity, and policy unites; and he would deserve more than universal execration, who should attempt but for a moment to weaken its effects. As a question of immediate relief, the repeal of the corn law is the first of the day. None should precede it, or even retard its advance; it is the last hope of famishing thousands; and should that agitation fail, the alternative is too dreadful to be described.

And it may fail yet. Its apparent proximity to success may yet turn out a deception; and, should this prove the case (which may a merciful God forbid), then there will remain no resource but in the agitation for the suffrage. Then the true character of the strife will be made apparent, from which it will be clear, that the agitation for repeal was but a skirmish of out-posts—but that of the suffrage an attack on the main forces of the foe. The one a question of immediate relief—the other a question of thorough emancipation. The one ranks first in the claims of humanity, but the other takes the precedence in the claims of righteousness and truth.

Let the friends of the suffrage persevere, and in that perseverance let them be judicious. They need not desert their own question for the sake of "repeal," nor need they abandon "repeal" for the sake of the suffrage. Let them advocate both with zeal and with constancy. Let them show to the country that while wedded to the one, they are also related to the other; and that while earnest in seeking the political emancipation of the people, yet their pressing distresses actuate their first regards.

Sir, yours sincerely,

West Bromwich, Feb. 18, 1843. WILLIAM STOKES.

P.S.—I regret that, owing to uncontrollable circumstances, I was unable to send the above for your last paper, according to my promise. For this I entreat the candour of yourself and readers.

Imperial Parliament.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

PETITIONS FOR THE WEEK.

Affghan and China wars, for inquiry into, 1.
Church extension, 9.
Corn laws, for repeal of, 5.
Emigration (Africa), petition against government scheme of, 1.
Mines and Collieries act, for repeal of, 18.
Poor Law (Ireland) act, for amendment of, 1.
Property Tax bill, for repeal of, 2.
Special commission, for inquiry into, 15.
St Asaph and Bangor dioceses, for repeal of union of, 55.

PUBLIC BUSINESS TRANSACTED.

BILLS PRESENTED AND READ A FIRST TIME.
Forged Exchequer Bills bill.
Coroners' Inquest bill.
Law of Evidence bill.

BILLS READ A SECOND TIME.

Transported Convicts bill.
Forged Exchequer Bills bill.
Personation of Voters bill.
Sudbury Disfranchisement bill.
Coroners' Inquest bill.

CONSIDERED IN COMMITTEE.

Transported Convicts bill.
Forged Exchequer Bills bill.

MOTIONS.

China.—Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, "That the thanks of this House be given to Major-general Lord Saltoun, K.C.B., Major-general George Burrell, C.B., Major-general Sir Robert Bartley, K.C.B., Major-general Sir James Holmes Schoedde, K.C.B., and the other officers of the navy, army, and royal marines, including those in the service of the East India Company, both European and native, for the energy, ability, and gallantry with which they have executed the various services which they have been called upon to perform."

Distress of the country.—"That this House will immediately resolve itself into a committee, to consider so much of the Lords Commissioners' speech as refers to 'that depression of the manufacturing industry of the country which has so long prevailed, and which her Majesty has so deeply lamented.'"—(Viscount Howick.) Amendment proposed, at the end of the question to add the words, "and also to inquire into the effects of machinery upon the moral and physical condition of the industrious classes; and also, to inquire into the origin of the late outbreaks, which are thus alluded to in the Lords Commissioners' speech: 'Her Majesty regrets that in the course of last year the public peace in some of the manufacturing districts was seriously disturbed, and the lives and property of her Majesty's subjects were endangered by tumultuous assemblages and acts of open violence.'"—(Mr Ferrand.) Amendment, by leave, withdrawn: Question put, "That this House will immediately resolve itself into a committee, to consider so much of the Lords Commissioners' speech as refers to 'that depression of the manufacturing industry of the country which has so long prevailed, and which her Majesty has so deeply lamented.'"—(Viscount Howick.) The House divided; ayes 191, noes 306.

India.—Motion made, and question proposed—"That the thanks of this House be given to the Right Honourable Lord Ellenborough, Governor-general of the British possessions in the East Indies, for the ability and judgment with which the resources of the British empire in India have been applied in the support of the military operations in Afghanistan:—"(Sir Robert Peel.) Amendment proposed, to leave out from the words "That the" to the end of the question, in order to add the words, "consideration of the thanks of this House to the Right Honourable Lord Ellenborough, Governor-general of India, be deferred until all the documents (consisting of letters to General Pollock, and General Nott, and other persons) stated in Lord Ellenborough's letter of the 8th of July, 1842, addressed to the secret committee of the East India Company, to have been withheld by his lordship, shall be laid before this House, to enable it to judge why, after repeated and positive orders issued by Lord Ellenborough, and by Sir Jasper Nicholls, the Commander in Chief in India, to General Pollock and General Nott, to withdraw all the forces under their command towards the company's possessions, those generals, instead of withdrawing, actually advanced their forces to Cabul, and by their gallant conduct and brilliant successes over the Afghans, the character and honour of the British arms were vindicated and supported in Afghanistan, on the scene of former disasters," instead thereof:—(Mr Hume.) Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the question." Amendment, by leave, withdrawn, and resolution carried.

Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, That the thanks of this House be given to Major-General Sir George Pollock, to Major-General Sir William Nott, G.C.B., to Major-General Sir John McCaslin, K.C.B., to Major-General Sir Robert Henry Sale, G.C.B., to Major-General Richard England, and the other officers of the army, both European and native, for the intrepidity, skill, and perseverance, displayed by them in the military operations in Afghanistan, and for their indefatigable zeal and exertions throughout the late campaign.

DEBATES.

Wednesday, Feb. 15.

DISTRESS OF THE COUNTRY.

The adjourned debate on Lord Howick's motion relative to the distress of the country was resumed by Dr BOWRING, who advanced various striking cases illustrative of the extent of the national distress.

One was that of a man who was an iron moulder, and had worked twelve years for one firm; he had formerly earned 30s. a week, but had done no work since the 1st of March, 1842; he had a wife and four children. When he found that his former employers had no more work for him, he had tried everywhere to obtain it. He had taken the tramp, as it was called; after having been unsuccessful in Bolton and its neighbourhood, and traveled through Wales, Durham, Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmorland, and been obliged to come here again without having got any, he had rested awhile, then taken the tramp again, and visited many of the manufacturing towns, traversing the midland counties, and coming to London with the same object, but without success.

But he would state a few facts in evidence of the widespread distress that existed in the borough of Bolton. The wages paid in the town had diminished to a most frightful extent.

In 1838 there were 150 carpenters and joiners employed, earning 25s. a week each. There were now only 25 in full work, earning that sum, and there were 15 only half-employed, making a difference of 156l. per week less at the present time received by this trade than in 1838. In 1837 there were 140 stonemasons employed, at 34s. per week; at present there were only 50, who earned no more than 10s. 6d.; this trade, therefore, received 153l. 15s. a week less than they did five years ago. The bed-quilt weavers earned in all 383l. a week in 1838; at present only 182l., being a difference of 200l. per week. The earnings of the counterpane weavers were 500l. per week in 1839; they were now 210l., being a difference of 290l. a week. In 1839 there were 2,800 handloom weavers employed, earning on an average 6s. a week, and this, too, at the time of their prosperity; now there were only 2,300, who earned on an average not more than 3s. 7d. The same facts pervaded all the trades of Bolton, showing 3,651l. 16s. 7d. less per week paid in wages, or a difference per annum of 189,871l. in the wages distributed only among twelve trades.

The poor man lay in a wretched room, without furniture, without bedding, without clothes, without fire, and the legislature resolved that he should be likewise without food. Was it an answer to such grievances that violent expressions were used by intemperate speakers at a conference of an Anti-corn-law league. He called on Sir R. Peel to practise what he preached. The right hon. baronet knew that two and two made four, but declared, in order to settle an account, not a very honest one with his own supporters, that for the present two and two should be taken to make only three. He condemned the policy of foreign countries, who imitated our system of restrictions, and insisted on the necessity of abolishing that system at home.

Mr STUART WORTLEY thought that nothing which Mr Ferrand had ever uttered could be more inflammatory and exciting than the language which had been just used by Dr Bowring. If the corn laws were repealed to-morrow, their removal would not produce the effects attributed to them. The meaning of Sir Robert Peel, in his reply respecting the alteration of the law, was obvious to any man who did not wish to distort it. He had declared that he considered the corn law of last session the best under all circumstances; and that he would not change it until he became convinced of its inapplicability to our commercial condition. The causes of the distress in that portion of the manufacturing community

connected with America, were clearly referable to the collapse of the extraordinary speculations in the United States, and not to an assertion, resting on mere assumption, that we did not take their corn.

Mr WALLACE feared that distress was increasing rather than diminishing, and had now extended to towns not connected with manufactures. He would not attack the motives of individuals, but he was convinced that the inquiry would do good. He stated many details of distress in Greenock, where the depression could not be attributed to any connexion with the trade of the United States.

The number of unemployed persons in Greenock was very great. From the report of the relief committee it appeared that the number of families now upon their list, amounted to 1,119, and consisted of 4,654 individuals. From another document, it appeared that the number of able-bodied workmen out of employ on the 11th of January last, was 5,639, being nearly 1,000 more than the number of persons deriving aid from the relief fund. Another proof of the destitution that prevailed in Greenock might be found in the increase of the parochial poor. Last year the number of parochial poor amounted to 2,061, and the assessment for their relief was not less than £5,814. It appeared that, out of eight shipping establishments, which, two years ago, were in full operation, and afforded employment to 2,000 persons, five had become insolvent, and the remaining three were only able to give employment to 600 or 700 hands.

Too much had been said in this debate about the corn law; and the attention of the House had thus been diverted from the main subject—the privations of the people. He then entered into other details, exhibiting the distress of Glasgow.

At a recent meeting, it was calculated that the unemployed amounted to nearly 3,000 individuals, for whom no relief whatever has been provided. Nor is there a relief fund or committee at the present time in existence in Glasgow! To show that this does not arise from imported distress, or is confined to the manufacturing trade, we may mention the number of unemployed is thus subdivided:—engineers, smiths, moulders, and boiler makers, 500; labourers, 600; plasterers, 40; masons and joiners, 900; carpenters, 200; power-loom dressers, 90; dyers, 200; slaters and plumbers, 50; cotton carders, 50; calico printers, 50; quarriers, 300; bakers, 100; painters, 150; calenderers, 50; weavers, 500; tailors, 350. Need we add more to shame the public of Glasgow into systematic exertion, and the legislature, on its first sitting, into serious consideration?

The same tale might be told of Liverpool—

With regard to the construction of ships in that port, it appeared that "in 1839, 1840, 1841, the building in Liverpool was considerable; in 1842 few vessels were built; and at present there are not more than three upon the stocks. North American vessels, which were sold in 1840 at £10 10s. per ton, were sold in 1842 at £6 per ton; and those which sold at £8 10s. in 1840, were sold in 1842 at £3 10s. to £4 per ton." Another correspondent, under the recent date of February 1, gave the subsequent statement:—"On the 16th of February, 1842, 22,868 tons of shipping were on sale in the docks of Liverpool."

And London was in a similar condition. The very clothes of the poor were now pawned by wholesale, and for want of any home market for these pledges, when forfeited, they were exported to countries where the labourers were in a better condition. Even the bankers were in a state of stagnation; no interest could be had for money, because there were no means of employing it with profit. The public revenue had fallen and was falling still. The rent of houses was reduced, and shipping was become unsaleable. The shopkeepers partook the general depression, and the goods in the windows, even of the aristocratic streets, were ticketed to tempt buyers at low prices. If ministers would suggest any measure of relief, he would even now concur with them in resisting this motion.

Mr ESCOTT said, that if any one would show how the committee could be made instrumental to relieve the distress, he would vote for the committee. But the mover had not stated what was his object; indeed, he had carefully abstained from stating even whether he was for a fixed duty or a total repeal, apprehending that if he had proposed the former, he would have missed the support of the extreme liberals, and if the latter, he would have missed the support of the whigs.

Mr C. WOOD denied that the distress was merely local. He gave some details of distress in Leeds and its neighbourhood, and adverted to similar accounts from other parts of the kingdom. The mover had no party object; if such had been his view, his motion would have been for a committee on the state of the nation. The present course was in strict conformity with parliamentary precedent, and had not been adopted until after an explicit declaration from the minister that he himself had no intention of proposing any measure of relief. Much was said about the necessity of keeping up the home demand; but it was not to any want of home demand that the depression of trade had been owing; for the home buyers, the agriculturists, had for several years been obtaining good prices for their produce. They must look to foreign demand; they must carry the principle of last year's tariff a great deal further. Twelve articles, producing a revenue of £17,000,000 sterling, had been left by that tariff altogether untouched. In many of those on which the duty had been remitted, there had been already an increase of our import trade; and why, when the experiment had so far succeeded, was it not extended to other items also? Above all, he contended for the repeal of the present corn law, for the sake of the working classes, whose condition was always most prosperous when bread was cheapest. At present their condition was so bad, that great numbers of them, reduced to pauperism, were thrown back upon the rural districts of their settlements, aggravating the pressure of the surplus labour already existing there. From this burden the country parishes would be relieved by any fresh impulse to manufacturing industry. He contended that the sliding scale had failed to work the benefits promised from it, and that public opinion was advancing in favour of fixed duty as a fair basis for a compromise which might probably be permanent.

SIR JAMES GRAHAM said he had supposed, on first seeing Lord Howick's notice, that the intention was to make a great party attack upon the government. The government were now told, not that they ought to lay down their offices, but that it was their duty to advance in the principles propounded last year. The last speaker had described the present distress

—which, undoubtedly, was deep and deplorable—as being unexampled, and had illustrated his proposition by a reference to the falling off in the declared value of exports. A reference to those exports in former years showed a greater falling off, which was succeeded by a complete recovery. It had been said that the mortality in the manufacturing districts had increased; a reference to tabular returns established the very contrary. Among the chief causes of the present evil was unsound credit, used to create fresh machinery with borrowed capital. This had set many mills in motion, which had afterwards been stopped, or reduced to work short time; but the number of mills out of work, and working short time, had in the last year been diminished.

It does not, however, appear what the body on the benches opposite to me intend this something of which they are always talking to be. They do not seem to have made up their minds together on the subject at all. The hon. member for Wolverhampton says he wants to have a total and immediate repeal of the corn laws. Now he has been warned by the benches immediately in front of me that they will not give such a motion their support. A fixed duty is talked of by others; but on what principle is this fixed duty to be founded? The honourable member for Halifax has this evening exhibited, in his notion of a fixed duty, something in the nature of a sliding scale [a laugh]: he talked to us, in one sentence, first, of "a moderate duty;" then of "a reasonable duty;" and then he slid down to "a small duty."

He doubted whether, in the history of any commercial country, so great a change had been at once effected as be the tariff of last year. Prohibitory duties had been swept away; duties on materials diminished to five per cent.; and duties on other articles reduced in proportion to their various natures and characters. He would not shrink from the question of the corn laws as introduced into this debate. There was not much difference of opinion about the principles of free trade. The time was past when England could hold the character of a merely agricultural country; and the field of our commerce must be enlarged for the benefit of the agricultural as well as of the commercial body. These were opinions now recognised by every man of common sense. But Lord Worsley had last night stated, from the opposite benches, that distress was creeping in upon the agricultural interests themselves; and the inference was, that great caution was necessary in dealing with those interests, lest an amount of mischief should be brought on more appalling than even the present distress. He cited the work of Dr Adam Smith, and a recent publication of Colonel Torrens, to show the great importance of agricultural employment, and the danger of injuring agriculture in the attempt to relieve manufactures. The object of the statesman, therefore, ought to be to obtain the widest field of foreign trade with the smallest check to domestic agriculture. He further referred to the authority of Mr McCulloch in support of these general opinions. The present motion was a stroke of the old policy, disturbing all things and proposing nothing. If gentlemen wished to turn out the government, let them avow it; but he doubted whether this House of Commons, though chosen under their auspices, would sanction that purpose.

The debate was then adjourned.

Thursday, Feb. 16.

The adjourned debate on the distress of the country was resumed by Mr Borthwick, who declared himself opposed to Lord Howick's motion. If that noble lord was aware of any legislative remedy for the distress complained of, why had he not, as a member of the House, and *a fortiori* as a member of the late government, propounded that remedy long since? Nay, why did he not propose it forthwith to the House, instead of calling for a committee? If the repeal of protection were just, he would not grant it to the agitation and the threats by which it was now demanded.

Sir C. NAPIER considered the statements of Sir J. Graham, respecting the diminution of mortality in the last year, as tending to the extraordinary conclusion, that the more the people suffer from starvation the longer they live. He urged a remission in the high duties on the wines of Portugal, both for the sake of the British consumer, and as a necessary condition of obtaining from that country a treaty favourable to our own commerce. The distress among the shipbuilders was, in his opinion, mainly attributable to the growth of steam. He called for a reduction of the sugar duties, condemning the imposition of a general burden for the sake of the particular class of West India proprietors, and he contended, in a jocular strain, for a compromise on the corn question, in the shape of a fixed duty. On commenting on the sliding scale, he related an anecdote.

He remembered also that, some years ago, a sliding gunter mast was introduced into the navy. It in some measure resembled the corn law sliding scale, for when the wind went down the mast went up (a laugh), and when the wind got up the mast came down. The sailors were anxious to confer some honour upon the inventor; and after some cogitation, they bestowed upon him the name of "Sliding Gunter Bob" (roars of laughter). He regretted that the right hon. bart, the First Lord of the Treasury, was not in his place (laughter).

Mr COCHRANE, after a violent diatribe against the Anti-corn-law League, said that what was required to restore a wholesome state of things, was a declaration from the minister that the present protection should be maintained.

Mr VILLIERS thought that the object of this motion—a committee on the state of the nation—ought to have been long since appointed. He did not know that they could not ascertain, as they had been told, the causes of the distress in such a committee, and he thought that nobody could fail to attach importance to the investigation. The power of production in the country exceeded the demand for its produce. Sir R. Peel admitted the principles which would lead to an enlargement of that market, but stopped short in effectuating them. It had been urged by Mr Gladstone, in support of protection, that it had existed for centuries, under a succession of often-changed laws. But what did those frequent changes of law demonstrate? Why, that in no shape had

the principle succeeded. It was the same principle as that of the people in the home counties, who, when it was proposed to improve the roads, petitioned against the improvement, lest they should lose their monopoly of supplying the metropolis. He ridiculed the idea of trying treaties and other remote means; it reminded him of the man who had a lean horse, and complained to his friend that though he had tried many receipts he had never been able to bring the animal into condition. The friend just asked him, "Did it ever occur to you to try corn?"

He voted for the motion, because he thought it perfectly reasonable. He could not condescend to answer the cavils and attacks that had been brought against the Anti-corn-law League. He thought that the Anti-corn-law League was well occupied in diffusing political truth. They were doing in their vocation what the religious societies were doing for religion—what the scientific societies were doing for the arts—what the agricultural societies were doing for agriculture. They could not put down the League but by doing justice, and with nothing short of that would it be satisfied.

Lord SANDON enlarged on the advantages of a home trade as compared with a foreign one. Gentlemen opposite seemed, however, to think that the word trade was applicable only to dealings with foreigners; and wholly forgot that agriculture is itself a trade, and the greatest trade of all.

Mr MUNTZ did not approve this motion; it was not straightforward and English; but knowing how much the people were distressed, he should vote for it. Sir R. Peel had reduced some duties, but the country was very little the better for it. The wages of the labourer were kept too low in proportion to the price at which bread was maintained. Gentlemen viewed these questions through tory spectacles, or whig spectacles, or radical spectacles, but never through natural ones.

Let the right hon. baronet become natural, let him establish the same proportion between the price of food and silver as existed in the other countries of Europe—let him do this, and we should soon see England happy England once more, and be able to exclaim with Richard—

"Now is the winter of our discontent
Made glorious summer by the son of Tamworth,
And all the clouds that low'rd on our house
In the deep bosom of the ocean buried."

Sir J. HANMER avowed himself favourable to a fixed duty, but would oppose the present motion. Mr PATRICK STEWART followed on the whig side, and "appealed to the consciences of members," telling the ministerial ranks that "party is the madness of many for the gain of a few." Mr COLQUHOUN ascribed our difficulties to the protective system of foreign countries, to excessive competition, and over production. This was, forsooth, to be compensated for by striking a blow at the home trade.

Mr FRANCIS BARING apprehended that the ministerial party, little satisfied with the previous course of the debate, had put up the Home Secretary on the preceding night to make a stout speech; and that right hon. gentleman had treated this motion as a party proceeding, intended to turn out the government. But the motion was, in fact, brought forward with no such purpose.

But he must say, that he did not think it very creditable to his right hon. friend to bring forward, under cover of a motion upon the distress of the country, and to vote for, a motion the real object of which was to turn out a government. It was not a fair and manly way to meet the case [hear, hear, from both sides]. The right course would have been to have gone into the subject of the distress of the nation, and to have voted upon that view of the question only.

It was objected to the present motion that nothing specific was proposed.

"What do you want?" it was asked. Why, if an opposition must be driven to that, if that rule was to be laid down, if no member of that House was to bring forward a motion without a specific proposition, without a measure in detail, if an hon. member could not take the opinion of the House and of the country upon a principle but he must be bound to bring forward his sugar and his corn bills in all their details, why, the thing was over [great laughter].

It was admitted that the principles of free trade were the principles of common sense, and he and his friends therefore called on the government to advance them. The government answered, "We made a great change last year, and we don't like to disturb the subject again so suddenly." Now, it was true that to disturb a subject was an evil, when that subject was in a settled state; but was there now any settled state of any of these subjects? Not of the sugar question: Jamaica had had an intimation that changes were in the wind respecting that matter. Several other duties, such as that on cheese, had been last year acknowledged to be indefensible, and must therefore be deemed now unsettled. Further changes yet were indicated in Mr Gladstone's contribution to the review. Was the corn question settled? Did anybody, farmer or other, believe that it could very long be left in its present state? After the way in which the government had disappointed the farmers, the most explicit declarations did not inspire an absolute confidence; but, in fact, their declarations were not very explicit. There was nothing like finality professed. It was the bounden duty of the government to take some step for the relief of a distress like that which now oppressed the country.

Mr GOULBURN said, that though Mr Baring had denied this motion to involve a refusal of confidence, yet the demand he had made for some positive measure from the government, after their declaration that they had none to propose, evinced that Mr Baring himself regarded it as being virtually a negation of confidence. If such a motion were carried, what was the question to be mooted in the committee? No man had solved that inquiry. On the subject of the sugar duties he would reserve himself until it should come regularly under the consideration of parliament. At present he would only observe, that the actual price of sugar was lower than that to which Lord John Russell had calculated that the measure of the late government was to reduce it. To the present motion he would object, as tending to delude the people, and as calling for an immediate change in the settlement made last on the subject of the corn law.

The debate was then again adjourned.

Friday, February 17.

The debate was resumed by Sir A. LEITH HAY who spoke in favour of Lord Howick's motion. Mr RASHLEIGH should support it, and Captain LAYARD took a cursory view of several speeches on the ministerial side in a vein of ridicule. Mr BLACKSTONE recommended Mr Ferrand to withdraw his amendment, though he should be willing to support the objects of it if brought forward in the shape of a substantive motion. He would oppose the motion of Lord Howick; but not by reason of any confidence he placed in the government, whose measures he considered as having aggravated the evils of the country.

Mr MARK PHILIPS said he had received a communication which enabled him distinctly to refute several charges made by Mr Ferrand, imputing to certain manufacturers the inhuman treatment of their apprentices. This Mr Philips proceeded to do somewhat in detail, and added other instances of misinformation given to members of parliament, which ought, in his opinion, to serve them as a warning against the too ready belief of all the tales they heard. He did not consider the present distress to have been produced by the disturbing causes which affected certain foreign markets; there would always be such causes at work in some quarter of the world; but his own belief was, that the distress arose from the excessive prices which the present laws imposed upon food, particularly upon corn and sugar. On the subject of his country's distress, he did not suffer himself to entertain any party feeling; and from whatever quarter any remedy might be offered, he should be equally ready to give it his earnest attention.

Mr DARBY protested against the inferences which some members drew from Sir R. Peel's answer to Mr C. Wood on the subject of the corn laws. Nothing could be more illogical than to conclude, because the minister had said he did not mean to change them in this session, that therefore he meant to change them in the next. If he believed that ministers, when they declared themselves against any change during this session, entertained a private intention of making that change at another period, he should think them guilty of a deception, and would support them no longer. But, on the other hand, he should have considered those ministers the weakest of men if they had pledged themselves that they would never make a change under any circumstances whatsoever.

Mr BROTHERTON enlarged upon the nature and extent of the distress, while he argued that it was the interest of the landed party itself to take some measure for removing it, since the poor, when driven to destitution, must come at last upon the land. He was for no fixed duty; that would be a tax of £20,000,000 on the people; he was for total repeal. The stream of commerce must not be dammed up; it was that which made the overflow now called overproduction. The landed party opposed the desired relief, that they might keep up rents. The remedy lay in a word—the word free trade.

Mr M. ATTWOOD denied that the abatement of distress could be inferred from the documents or indications to which ministers had appealed—from returns of diminished mortality, not laid upon the table for general examination—or from increased deposits carried to savings' banks, simply because there were no channels in which the poor could invest them with profit. For a series of years the doctrines of free trade had been in a course of application in this country, and had injured every branch of our productive industry. The silk trade afforded a remarkable instance. The shipping interests furnished another. These opinions he illustrated by statistical references; and reminded the House that it was impossible to drive out one-fifth of a trade without inflicting the severest suffering on the other four-fifths. Entertaining these opinions, he could not vote for the motion of the noble lord.

Mr GIBSON thought this motion an eminently practical one; those who supported it would express an opinion that something ought to be done—those who opposed it, their opinion that nothing ought to be done. The savings' banks were no test. The depositors were not chiefly the spinners, but were domestic servants, milliners, miners, and others, not coming under the denomination of artisans. He disputed the documentary results stated by Sir James Graham. Of the forty-nine instances mentioned by him as of new mills brought into operation in 1842, there were thirty-nine which were cases of mere change of tenancy, and only one really new mill had been set to work. Mr Gibson, notwithstanding their disclaimers, persevered in the assertion that ministers were underrating the distress. For this there was no remedy to be expected from new treaties with foreign countries. You talked of inducing Brazil to vouchsafe you a favourable treaty, and yet you were taxing her sugar 400 per cent.; and in like manner you taxed the wines of France, and shut out the corn of America by your sliding scale. The days of the corn law were numbered; and until that law should cease, there would be no cessation of the Anti-corn-law League.

The hon. member for Shrewsbury (Mr D'Israeli) had, in his candour, admitted the principle upon which the corn laws were maintained. The hon. member for Shrewsbury had, in the course of his speech, dropped the same sentiment which had previously fallen from the right hon. baronet at the head of the government in this house, and from an illustrious duke in another place—namely, that there must be a preponderance of the landed interest. The corn law, therefore, was maintained, not in consideration of the home trade—not in consideration of its finance, but to keep up and maintain the landed interest in its present position, and that this interest must not be allowed to be rivaled in wealth by any other class in the community. Now, he begged to tell the right hon. baronet, that the manufacturing interests would not consent to be told they were secondary, or that they were only to get as much trade as would suit the convenience of the landed proprietors [hear, hear]. The landed interests could not put themselves above the manufacturing body, nor could they elevate themselves by putting them down.

The Anti-corn-law League had been accused of inducing crime by the violence of their language. He denied that their language had been violent, or that it had been the cause of the outbreak in the manufacturing districts. The manufacturers, the members of the League, were the very parties most interested to prevent those disturbances, so destructive to their property. He rather believed that the first pretext for outbreak was given by conservative masters in reducing the wages of their workmen, and by the irritating language of the conservative press. In evidence of this latter assertion he quoted several passages from the *Standard*.

That newspaper was considered as the organ of her Majesty's government [oh]. At any rate it was the organ of the conservative party [oh]. Newspaper editors did not write articles which were not consonant with the feelings of their readers. Now, he would read to them an extract which appeared to him calculated to excite those disturbances [no, no, question]. They would mind that he did not begin the charge. Acts little short of murder had been imputed to those of them who belonged to the Anti-corn-law League [hear, hear, yaw, haw, and laughter]. Will those belonging to the Anti-corn-law League silently submit to be charged in this way [cries of "oh," from the ministerial benches]? He felt bound to rebut such accusations, when brought against himself and his friends.

After reading several violent passages from the *Standard*, inciting the working classes against their masters, Mr Gibson charged those who resisted the necessary relief with being the causes of the evil.

In the maintenance of injustice the members of the government were themselves the parties bringing about disorder in the country; those who exposed injustice did their duty—the Anti-corn-law League did its duty [hear, hear, and ironical cheers]—it would continue to do its duty [ironical cheering], and it would be much better for them [the conservatives] to make a surrender [ah, bah, laughter, and hear, hear]. Now, if there were a chance of saving the export trade of the country, he called upon the government not to put off the repeal of the corn laws till they had irretrievably lost a great proportion of the mercantile interests of the country.

Lord F. EGERTON observed, that the reproach thrown out in this debate against ministers, of having deranged everything and settled nothing, came with a bad grace from the members of the late government. The supporters of this motion, brought forward by an advocate of fixed duty, would be the men who condemned all duty whatever. The quantum of the distress had uselessly occupied much of the last preceding speech; because, where the distress was confessedly so great, and required the whole attention of parliament, the question of a little more or a little less was immaterial. The allegation, that the League had caused the outbreak, was not disproved by the consideration that their own property was endangered; history abounded with examples, not only of people cutting each other's throats, but of cutting their own. But when the evil actually burst upon them, men were apt to change their minds; and those who before abhorred the notion of a military force became nervously anxious for the glimpse of a scarlet coat. A remedy was asked for:

Now he had a remedy to propose—a partial, a slight, a temporary one, one to which he attached no weight, but one which he sincerely thought would not be without its effect. He thought that the period of the distress, if it were to happen at all by any measure, would be rather by the voluntary dissolution of the Anti-corn-law League. He left it to her Majesty's government in all such cases to consider whether any active measures should be taken against the proceedings of that body or not; but he retained his opinion that a graceful and voluntary act of dissolution on the part of the Anti-corn-law League would be the most likely measure to put a period to the distress.

He attributed the evils of the present time mainly to the accident that the development of steam had fallen upon an age when all the relations of Europe were disturbed; and had thus given to England for a time a monopoly in the markets of the world, which in these latter and more peaceful days it was impossible that, by any struggle, she could maintain.

Mr COBDEN said his chief objection to this motion was, that it did not include agricultural as well as manufacturing distress. The agricultural labourers were in a wretched state. They were no gainers by the corn law; nor were the farmers. With neither of these classes had the landlords any right to identify themselves. The landlord was no agriculturist; he might live all his days in London or in Paris. He was no more an agriculturist than a shipowner was a sailor. But the real agriculturists were beginning to get a glimmering of light upon this question. The member for Dorsetshire, when the peasantry were in a wretched state, had attacked the League; but the League had carried back the war into that county, and had taken care that every one of its freeholders should be supplied with a packet containing about a dozen tracts, which would make them as well acquainted with the subject as this House itself.

Do you think we shall hear next year, at the agricultural meeting at Blandford, the hon. member for Dorsetshire, telling his hearers that "the corn law is the sun of our social system, that it gilds the spire of the church, the dome of the palace, and the thatch of the cottage?" There will be some black sheep, who will shout out, "and the chimney of the landlord." [Derisive cheers.]

The landlord's day of reckoning was not far off:—

But the time is coming upon you—next quarter day—when you will be called upon to show the farmer, upon whose mind some light is now shedding, how it is he has hitherto gained any benefit from this legislative protection, and how he can possibly derive any for the future. You will have to answer these questions from intelligent farmers:—"If there be more farmers than farms, then will not the competition amongst us for your farms raise the rent of the land? and will there not be a proportionate value of the produce to whatever value you may give it in your acts of parliament?"

He protested against the notion that the League had been the movers of sedition and assassination.

The right hon. baronet made a dark insinuation against it at the close of last session, when there was no one to answer it; and we have had the cry raised since, that the Anti-corn-law League is an incendiary and revolutionary body. We took no pains to refute that charge. How have the public treated your accusations? The shrewd and sagacious people of England and Scotland have given bail for the morality and good conduct of the malignant body in the amount of £50,000. Let the same slanders go forth for another year, and I will engage that the public will enter into recognisances for the same body to the amount of £100,000.

He referred to the attempt of Lord Brougham in the other house, to fasten a charge upon a speaker at an anti-corn-law meeting, of encouraging acts

of violence and private revenge, and characterised it as "the ebullition of an ill-regulated intellect." Next he would inquire why the present motion was to be resisted by the government? When Sir R. Peel took the reins of government, he took with them the responsibility of introducing the measures necessary for the country. The ministers, some avowedly, others impliedly, were advocates of free trade. Why did not they carry it into effect? Oh, they adopted it only in the abstract. But this House had nothing to do with abstractions. Length of time was pleaded. He should like to know whether that would be a defence to the claim of a just plaintiff in a court of law?

Why, what had the hon. gentleman the member for Bridport told them the other night? After declaiming a little against the Anti-corn-law League (with a gentleness of accent and sweetness of diction, however, which quite neutralised the effect of his declamation), he had told them that the aristocracy could not afford to reduce their rents, and that "therefore" the corn law must be maintained. Now, the hon. gentleman (Mr Cochrane) was a young man, and, perhaps, did not fully see the effect of his argument; but he (Mr Cobden) could tell him that those who talked in this strain were the real revolutionists and incendiaries, and he would advise and implore the aristocracy of England to look after their character, and not allow such an imprudent argument to be urged as that their state and their dignity were to be maintained at the expense of the widowed, the orphan, and the distressed and starving artisan [cheers, and cries of "Oh, oh!"]

The government must be aware of the condition of the country. They might talk of some new mills being started, they might talk of joint stock banks, but one thing could not escape their notice—namely, that for the last six years the condition of this country was growing worse and worse, and that just now it was worse than ever it was before.

They might say that he was a prophet who would help to fulfil his own prophecies; but, say what they would, he would tell them this, as, indeed, he had told them last year—that worse things were in store; that presently they would have things in a worse condition in the north of England; that the disturbances would not be confined to the cotton districts alone, but that they would have the agricultural population rising upon them, as they had the manufacturing population last autumn; and the next time that they had to face a similar state of distress they might rely upon this, that the agricultural population would find themselves in precisely the same state that the manufacturing classes had for some time been in.

It could not now be said, as at the end of last session, that the period was unsuitable for attending to the distress of the country. The year lay before them, and there was no pressure of legislative business, public or private. Had government any other remedy? They had last year imposed a corn law unpalatable to all classes of mercantile men. That law had given no extension to regular trade; and it had ruined the speculators. The tariff had reduced the duty on 700 articles, and had omitted the only two which could have done anything for the people—corn and sugar. The reduction of the timber duty, good in itself, came uselessly in point of time; for there was no building in progress, either of factories or of shipping. Sir R. Peel had it in his power to carry the measures necessary for the people; and if he had not that power as a minister, he would have it by resigning his office.

Every one saw clearly that the right hon. baronet must adopt some change of plan, and it was the duty of every independent member to throw on him the individual responsibility of the present state of affairs—a responsibility of course arising from his position. He was not a party man in that house [derisive cheering on the ministerial side of the house]. The public knew that he was no party man; and he would tell the House that, whether whig or tory was in office, he would not sit there one hour unless he had the cordial consent of his constituents to vote as he considered best for the welfare of the country. He would tell the right hon. baronet that the whole responsibility of the present lamentable and dangerous state of the country rested upon his shoulders ["hear, hear," from Sir R. Peel].

But whether the hon. baronet resigned or not, he (Mr Cobden) had faith in the electoral body that they would ere long force the adoption of those principles which could alone save the country.

The following scene was then enacted:—

Sir ROBERT PEELE said: Sir, the honourable gentleman has stated here very emphatically, what he has more than once stated at the conference of the Anti-corn-law League, that he holds me individually—[These words, which were pronounced with much solemnity of manner, were followed by a loud cheer from the ministerial benches, of a very peculiar and emphatic kind. It lasted a considerable time, and while it continued, and for some minutes afterwards, the house presented an appearance of extreme excitement, the members in the galleries standing up, and many of those below whispering eagerly to each other]—individually responsible for the distress and suffering of the country; that he holds me personally responsible [renewed cheering of the same character]. Be the consequences of those insinuations what they may [cheering renewed with great vehemence], never will I be influenced by menaces [continued cheering] to adopt a course which I consider—[The rest of the sentence was lost in renewed shouts from the ministerial benches.]

Mr COBDEN rose and said: I did not say that I held the right honourable gentleman personally responsible [shouts from the ministerial benches of "yes, yes; you did, you did," mingled with cries of "order," and "chair"]. I have said that I hold the right honourable gentleman responsible by virtue of his office [renewed shouts from the same quarter—cries of "no, no," and confusion]—as the whole context of what I said was sufficient to explain [renewed cries of "no, no," from the ministerial benches].

Sir ROBERT PEELE: Sir, the expression of the hon. gentleman was not, that he held her Majesty's government responsible; but, addressing himself to me [cheering as before], he said, in the most emphatic manner, that he held me individually responsible [ministerial cheering again, in the midst of which Sir James Graham handed a paper to Sir Robert Peel]. I do not want to overstate anything. I am not certain, on reflection, whether the honourable gentleman used the word personally, but he did twice repeat that he held me individually responsible [cheering renewed]. I am perfectly certain of that, and I only notice it for the purpose of saying that it shall not influence me in the discharge of a public duty [renewed ministerial cheers].

With respect to the present motion, he would take no objection on any point of form. That would be an unworthy objection on a subject of such deep in-

terest to a suffering people. But what would be the effect of granting this motion? It would put a stop to the whole business of the executive government. While the committee should be discussing duties on tea, tobacco, sugar, wool, and so on, how could the government make any fiscal calculation, or negotiate any treaty connected with commerce? Or would the noble lord, instead of dealing with particular duties, move a general resolution for extending the principle of last year's tariff? It was impossible to imagine a proceeding which would so immediately and so generally give a check to commerce, diffuse uncertainty, and shake confidence. He did not deny the existence of the imputed distress; but it ought not to be overstated; it had been error, for instance, to rely on an October report of Mr Horner as sustaining an allegation that matters were progressively worse, when there was a subsequent report of his in January, by which that allegation was disproved. Now, as to the censures which had been thrown upon the government for not following out their own declarations. They had thought that in a general revision of our commercial code, the principle of protection ought not to be extended—that relaxation, rather than restriction, ought to be the object; but he himself had qualified those opinions by the most distinct reservations in favour of long-established interests. Mr Huskisson had stated similar qualifications. So had Dr Adam Smith, a writer who had not, he thought, been surpassed by any of the modern commentators on his works. He then recapitulated the improvements introduced by the recent tariff—by that revision to which so little value was attached in this debate. He defended the non-inclusion of French wines and some other articles of luxury from the reduced scale of duties, on the ground that the maintenance of the duties on those articles was necessary for obtaining certain reciprocal concessions from the countries where those articles were produced; and he justified the omission of sugar by reference to the arguments connected with the slave trade, and the state of existing slavery in the South American plantations. On the subject of timber much had been done; the price of timber had accordingly been much reduced; and though Mr Cobden reckoned this reduction for nothing, because no factories were just now in progress, he himself could not help thinking that the building of factories was not the only important object to which timber was applicable. Then he came to food. He had staked his administration upon the reduction of the duty on cattle. As to corn, he had made certain alterations, and the price of corn had fallen materially; perhaps that result would be attributed solely to the harvest. But, whatever was the cause, reduction of price was the effect; and, as soon as the price had fallen, came the cry that the price of provisions mattered little, and that the main point was, by admitting foreign corn, to get a foreign market. He had been asked, a few days ago, whether he intended to alter the corn law this session?

I am charged with leaving the law in a state of uncertainty—with implying a secret reserve to alter the law next session. Now the fact is, a minister answers questions in his place in parliament under great disadvantages. A minister desires to give every information that he can on public concerns consistent with public duty. On the first night of the session the question was addressed to me—"Do you intend to alter the corn laws this session?" My answer was—"I do not." Then it was said I had made a voluntary declaration that I would not alter them this session, but that I had made a reserve with a view to a succeeding session. Now, in these cases, much depends on the animus of the questioner. Of course the honourable gentleman who put the question to me was specifying the present session, and never thought of asking me—Do you, in the course of the next, or of any future session, intend to propose an alteration in the existing law? When the question was put to me, whether I contemplated any alteration in the present session, I answered frankly—"I do not." To this some gentlemen immediately say—"See in what a state of uncertainty you leave the law. You, as minister, defer the course you mean to take. You will do nothing this session, but you do not say you will abide by your law. Abide! sir, I do not undertake to say I will abide by any law, but I will say this—I do not now contemplate any alteration in the law; I see nothing in the experience of the last four or five months to induce me to take a different view of the question from what I did last session; but if I am asked whether I will undertake, whatever may be my experience, whatever may be the proof of failure that may force itself upon my conviction—I say, if after such proof and experience of failure, I am asked whether, in order to purchase support, I will make a stipulation to adhere to a law that shall have failed, I say at once that there is no support that I will consent to purchase on such conditions."

It was said by the mover, "Settle the question," but would the mover's own recipe of a fixed duty settle it? Would not the anti-corn-law men continue to agitate? He next went into some of the general arguments against fixed duty, and against total repeal; and then addressed himself to Mr Baring's speech of the previous evening, who had charged the present government with having deranged everything and settled nothing. Sir R. Peel contrasted his own conduct with that of the preceding ministry. In 1840, their whole official force had united in voting for the maintenance of that very sugar duty which, in 1841, when they saw themselves in danger, they treated as an intolerable burden. The settlement of the corn law was insisted upon as a matter of the utmost importance. How did the late ministers settle it? Why, by making it, year after year, an open question. When new taxes were to be raised by Mr Baring himself, as chancellor of the exchequer, he had imposed a duty of 6 per cent. upon raw materials, the very elements of manufacturers; and now that right hon. gentleman accused the present ministry of having unsettled everything and settled nothing. What the present ministry had done was this: they had closed two great and expensive wars, and they trusted that the estimates of this year would show a consequent reduction of £850,000. They had diminished colonial duties; they had approached to a settlement of the differences with the United States; and they had tried to soothe those angry feelings of France, for the origin of which they were not responsible.

Still, if this motion could really alleviate the people's suffering, he would say most sincerely, that no merits to which the ministers could lay claim should be a reason against its adoption.

Lord J. Russell, after endeavouring to explain the expression made use of by Mr Cobden, proceeded to deal with the question in debate. He justified the form of the present motion, and the fitness of the time at which it was brought forward. Foreign nations were induced by the example of this country to restrict their own codes of commerce; and thus England, by excluding the great articles in which those nations dealt, precluded herself from all chance of getting favourable treaties from them. He could have understood the arguments for keeping up high duties upon articles of food if they had come from the opponents of free trade; but he could not understand them when they came from a government by whom the principles of free trade were adopted and proclaimed. It might be that a fixed duty of 8s. would not now satisfy the people. It would, he believed, have satisfied them when it was first proposed; but if statesmen allowed the time to go by when a moderate boon would suffice, a larger amount must eventually be conceded. The ultimate repeal of the Roman catholic disabilities, without any of the securities originally proposed to accompany it, was an illustration of this tendency in political affairs.

Mr COBDEN desired to disavow the meaning which had been imputed to him in the employment of the word "individually."

Sir ROBERT PEEL accepted the explanation.

Mr ROEBUCK read from the *Quarterly Review* an extract from the report of that League meeting, at which it was said the suggestion of taking Sir Robert Peel's life was publicly mentioned by a dissenting minister; and introduced a little episode, showing Mr Cobden to have threatened that if he (Mr Roebuck) took a particular course in this debate, a mission from the League should pay a visit to Bath. (This produced a great sensation.)

Mr BANKES said a few words, intimating that Mr Cobden had greatly misrepresented the state of the peasantry in Dorsetshire; and that nothing which he himself could have said to the Dorsetshire freeholders against the League would damage it so much as Mr Cobden's own speech in that house on that evening.

Mr COBDEN said he had only warned Mr Roebuck in friendship, that if he made a statement in the house, in reference to Lord Brougham's assertion respecting the League, he would incur the danger of a visit from the League to Bath.

Lord HOWICK replied, and the House then divided—

Against the motion	306
For it	191
Majority against it	115

Monday, Feb. 20.

THANKS TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND ARMY OF INDIA.

Sir ROBERT PEEL, in pursuance of notice, moved the thanks of the House of Commons to the governor-general of India, and to the officers and men, both British and native, for their services in the late military operations in Afghanistan. He began by disclaiming all intention of casting any political reflection, even in the remotest or most oblique way, upon the course previously pursued by Lord Auckland's government; and, after alluding to the general character of wild and romantic interest attaching to these distant services and scenes, he explained the position of affairs at the accession of Lord Ellenborough. He related the outbreak of the rebellion, the movement of Sir Robert Sale from Cabul to Jellalabad, and the attack then made upon the British, including the murder of Sir A. Burnes; the preparation of a military force by Lord Auckland, the news which reached him of further disasters, and his subsequent orders to Generals Pollock and Nott for the withdrawal of the forces. In his judgment, the resolution taken by Lord Auckland was justified by the circumstances under which it had been adopted. The state of affairs, however, at the arrival of Lord Ellenborough, being undoubtedly very discouraging, he adopted a new policy, of which the objects had been all accomplished. True, he had on the 19th of April, directed General Nott to retire from Candahar; but Lord Ellenborough had then received news of the surrender of Ghuznee, and of the failure of General England in the attempt to relieve General Nott; and, meanwhile, General Pollock and General Nott had been writing to the Governor-general to represent the difficulties of their respective positions. The loss of beasts of burden, indispensable for securing a supply of food, had amounted in a few months to the number of thirty thousand animals. These circumstances were an ample justification of Lord Ellenborough's first order of withdrawal. Sir Robert Peel then proceeded to specify the services of Generals Pollock, Nott, and Sale. General Pollock, on arriving at the scene of his duty, had visited the hospitals—had provided for the care of the sick, as well as for the comfort of the effective troops—and had brought them back from a state of unpleasant feeling to a zealous and loyal spirit, as it appeared from Quintus Curtius that Alexander had done in those very regions more than two thousand years ago, when discontent had crept in among the Macedonian forces. Sir R. Peel recapitulated the successive military achievements of General Pollock, terminating with the capture of Cabul. He then traced the victorious progress of General Nott; and, after paying a tribute to the services also of the captains and lieutenants, did justice to the high English spirit which breathed in General Nott's letters. Lastly, he eulogised the many and great

services of Sir Robert Sale, his fortification of Jellalabad, interrupted as it had been by the shocks of an earthquake, his gallant defence of that city, and his successful attack on Akhbar Khan, chequered only by the loss of the brave and lamented Colonel Denie; and he, in passing, alluded to the heroism of Lady Sale, and of the late Lieutenant Sturt, whose valour she has touchingly commemorated. It was impossible to describe those services without feeling pride in the British name; those services had proved that it was a name which the long interval of peace had not impaired; and they were an earnest that further efforts, when occasion should require, would continue to be made with glory and with triumph.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL expressed his concurrence in these sentiments, and his sympathy with the brave men who were the subjects of this motion. He praised the letters of General Nott, which he admired the more for the absence of all preparation and attempt at fine writing. He applauded the military services of that officer, as well as of Sir G. Pollock and Sir R. Sale. The proposal of thanks to Lord Ellenborough raised another class of considerations. Was that nobleman the general director of those operations? He himself did not wish to detract from any praise which Lord Ellenborough might have merited; but he must claim some credit for Lord Auckland, since it was to Lord Auckland's previous orders that much of the ultimate success was due. The option of advancing, which was given by Lord Ellenborough to General Nott, was not of a nature which entitled the Governor to share the praise with the General. It was not a positive direction to advance, but rather an intimation of the danger of advancing. He would not, however, take upon himself the responsibility of refusing a vote of thanks which he believed was in accordance with precedent. He claimed credit for the policy of the late government on the subject of Afghanistan.

Mr BANKES shortly advocated the title of Lord Ellenborough to this mark of public esteem, and regretted that Lord John Russell should have questioned by his speech what he did not mean to controvert by his vote.

Mr HUTT complained of the excesses committed by our troops in India.

Sir H. HARDINGE questioned the truth of the reports which have been circulated respecting the misconduct of these troops; and furnished some military explanations which he thought might have caused the misapprehension.

Mr HUME especially lamented the destruction of the commercial bazaar, and thought some further explanation was due upon that subject. As far as the troops were concerned, he concurred in the vote; but he was not so well disposed to include the Governor-general in the thanks. He thought it a bad practice for governors to withdraw from their councils, and act for themselves, as Lord Ellenborough had done. His Excellency would have withdrawn the forces; but the generals had gallantly disobeyed his instructions, and to them alone the thanks were due. He believed Lord Ellenborough would not have done even what he did, but for orders from England to advance. He therefore moved an amendment for deferring the consideration of thanks to Lord Ellenborough until three papers, which he specified, and which he blamed the government for having withheld, should be before the House.

Mr B. BARING, Lord EHRINGTON, Mr HOGG, Mr MANGLES, Colonel WOOD, Captain BERNAL, Sir HOWARD DOUGLAS, and other members, expressed their sentiments on the subject, and though some censured Lord Ellenborough, none would oppose a vote of thanks to him.

Mr Hume's amendment, then, was negatived without a division, and the proposed vote of thanks to Lord Ellenborough was passed, with the single dissentient voice of Mr Hume. The thanks to the officers and troops were voted unanimously.

MISCELLANEOUS.

On Monday Mr Hutt obtained leave to bring in a bill for facilitating the naturalisation of foreigners, by placing the power of neutralising them in the hands of the Crown.

CANADIAN CORN.—In answer to a question put by Mr Labouchere, whether it was the intention of government to propose, during the present session, to alter the duty now levied on corn imported from Canada into this country, Lord Stanley, after a succinct statement of what had taken place on the subject, observed that "he had no hesitation in saying that the despatch which he, in concurrence with his colleagues, had sent out to the Governor-general of Canada, bore upon it that fair, natural, and legitimate inference which the legislature of Canada had put upon it—namely, that if an equivalent duty was put on the importation of corn from the United States to Canada, every disposition would be shown to allow *bona fide* Canadian corn to be imported into England at a nominal duty." This declaration of the noble lord was received with cheers.

The following notices have been entered on the books for the 2nd of March:—Mr V. Blake, a bill to abolish the profane, sinful, tedious, and unnecessary form of administering political oaths and religious tests as a qualification to sit and vote, &c.—Mr T. Duncombe for a select committee to inquire into the manner in which justice was administered by a portion of the magistracy, during the disturbances that took place last year in the manufacturing districts.—Mr Fox Maule, that the House resolve itself into a committee, to take into consideration the petition of the commission of the General Assembly of the church of Scotland, and the matters therein contained.—Mr Ewart, that it having been acknowledged on the part of the ministry of this country, that the present corn law is not a settlement of the question, and there being reasonable grounds for

believing that the existence of such law will be of short duration, it is just and expedient that a state of uncertainty, embarrassing and unfair to the agriculturists, and injurious to commerce, should be put an end to, and measures of a settled and final character adopted without further delay.

DISTRESS AT PAISLEY.—On Tuesday, Mr Wallace nominated the following committee to inquire into the distress at Paisley—Mr Wallace, Lord Robert Grosvenor, Mr Manners Sutton, Mr Fox Maule, Sir Robert Harry Inglis, Mr Young, Mr Patrick Stewart, Mr Hastie, Mr Pringle, Mr Smollett, Mr Horsman, Mr Duncan, Mr Acland, Mr Colquhoun, and Mr Wyse.

On the motion of Mr Palmer, on Thursday, a select committee was appointed to inquire into the shipwreck of British vessels; and the means of preserving the lives and property of shipwrecked persons.

POOR IN MANUFACTURING DISTRICTS.—Mr Ferrand moved for entire and unmutated copies of certain letters, addressed to the Secretary of the Poor-law Commission by Mr Gregg and Mr Ashworth, and for a copy of the correspondence on the subject of a removal, authorised by the Poor-law Commission, of a number of poor persons from agricultural into manufacturing districts. This transfer had been followed by death to hundreds, and slavery and misery to the survivors. He moved also for a copy of the diet table in use at the Belper and Derby union workhouses, and for some other papers relating to the oppression of poor work-people in certain mills and factories. He accompanied this motion with some very strong expressions applied to particular employers; and stated that Sir James Graham had, much to his honour, agreed to grant the papers. Sir James Graham protested against the use of opprobrious epithets, and desired, as a condition of granting those of the papers moved for which were in his power, that the wording of the motion should be modified by the omission of the words "entire and unmutated." Mr M. Gibson wished to guard the House against crediting, without proof, such charges as those of Mr Ferrand. Dr Bowring vindicated the humanity of those who had brought the poor from the agricultural into the manufacturing districts. Mr Ferrand agreed to modify his motion according to the suggestion of Sir J. Graham, and in that modified form it was granted, as to all such of the papers as the government possessed.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

On Thursday the House sat only for a short period, and no business of any importance was done.

On Friday, Lord WHARFCLIFFE, in answer to questions put to him on a previous night, stated that the amount collected for the relief of the distressed manufacturers was, under the Queen's letter, £75,000, and by subscription £25,000. All the money so collected had been paid over to the relief committee, and distributed by them, and a report would be shortly published. There was no parliamentary right to inquire into the distribution of these funds.

Lord CAMPBELL gave notice that on Tuesday he should put a question to the government to ascertain whether it was their intention to introduce any measure for the settlement of the dispute pending in the church of Scotland.

Monday, February 20.

THANKS TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND ARMY OF INDIA.

The Duke of WELLINGTON brought forward his motion for a vote of thanks to Lord Ellenborough, the generals, officers, and soldiers, both European and native, for their services in bringing to its successful result the war in Afghanistan. The noble duke entered into details of the operation of the war from the first outbreak, and concluded by moving the resolution of which he had given notice, and in which he had taken care to avoid any topic that might provoke discussion.

Lord AUCKLAND acknowledged the temperate and judicious manner in which the subject had been brought forward, and proceeded to explain the difficulties, especially as to the means of carriage, by which he had found himself beset, after the outbreak at Cabul. His resignation had been already sent in, and although he would willingly have recalled it, his successor was appointed, and all, therefore, that he could do was to prepare and forward reinforcements. He eulogised Major Outram, by whose exertions alone in procuring camels General Nott had been enabled to advance, and heartily concurred in the praise which had been awarded to the latter officer, and to General Pollock. No one could rejoice more sincerely than he did at the success of the operations which, at the direction of the present government, they had undertaken.

The Marquis of LANSDOWNE, although he could not deny Lord Ellenborough the merit of having displayed activity and ability in the conduct of the war, rejoiced that the resolutions had been so modified, that no more general approbation was required from their lordships. He mentioned, in terms of high eulogium, the heroic defence of Jellalabad, but particularly insisted on the claims of General Nott to public gratitude, for having at once embraced the determination to advance upon a most perilous expedition, although "loaded with cautions" by the Governor-general.

Lord FITZGERALD and VESEY and the Marquis of CLANRICARDE made a few observations, the one in defence of Lord Ellenborough, the other disparaging his services.

Lord BROUGHAM drew from the universal acquiescence in this vote the conclusion that the general conduct of Lord Ellenborough was distinctly approved, and deprecated the tone in which "his caution" had been treated by the Marquis of Lansdowne. He then proceeded to show, by extracts from his

orders and despatches, how erroneous were the various imputations which had been laid to the Governor-general's charge, especially with respect to the recovery of the prisoners, and contrasted the language of the opposition within the house with that which had been used by their ordinary supporters elsewhere. If any were yet unconvinced, he challenged them to bring forward their complaints for immediate discussion. He would not comment upon the style of the proclamations, which had been made the subject of so much censure, but which were unworthy of notice when his public conduct was taken into account, but joined heartily in the expression of approbation and thanks to all those for whom such honours were now demanded; and in gratitude to Providence for having vouchsafed to relieve our armies of the great, though temporary, stain that was upon them, our councils of a most grievous embarrassment, and our Indian empire from the peril which at one moment appeared almost greater than the unaided efforts of man could have sufficed to overcome.

After some mutual explanations from Lord Brougham and the Marquis of Lansdowne, the Bishops of Salisbury and Chichester protested against it being supposed that they concurred in the view taken by Lord Brougham, of the proclamation respecting the gates of Somnauth. Lord Brougham expressed his conviction that the words of the proclamation would not bear the construction which had been generally applied to them; and after a few words of modified dissent from Lord Minto, the resolutions were carried without opposition, and their lordships then adjourned.

LORD BROUGHAM AND THE LEAGUE.—How does it happen, we should like to know, that all this holy horror of the conduct of the Leaguers has been suppressed till the present time? Lord Brougham was aware, in July last as fully as now, of the alleged violent language of the deputies. Those deputies were courted (we use the word advisedly) by his lordship up to the very last day of the session. He sent for them to his house and to the house of Lords repeatedly in July. The passages of the house of Lords were literally blocked up with the deputies who attended, one evening, at his express invitation. He pressed his own services upon them; he volunteered to bring on a motion upon the distress of the country (which motion the deputies had intended to have entrusted to another, and we now believe, a sincere friend in the upper house), and then, to their amazement, he prefaced his motion by declaring that he had been reluctantly induced to undertake it at the pressing instance of the deputies! We repeat, that, up to the very close of the last session, Lord Brougham received the deputies with open house and outstretched arms, and heaped carresses, aye, to an inconvenient excess, upon them. There has been no violent language imputed to the members of the League since the close of the last session. Whence then springs this new born "abhorrence and disgust" at the language of the deputies? and why did the noble lord lavish his attentions upon men for whose conduct he now professes to feel "such abhorrence and disgust"? Time, the great tell-tale, will probably disclose the motives by which the noble and learned lord is actuated.—*Anti-bread-tax Circular.*

THE GATES OF SOMNAUTH.—Lord Ellenborough will have need of all the brothers and friends he can muster. A requisition to the Archdeacon of Coventry is in course of signature, requesting him to take measures for the drawing up of an address from the clergy of that archdeaconry, condemnatory of Lord Ellenborough's proclamation respecting the gates of Somnauth. We believe the signatures of all the masters of Rugby school are attached to the requisition. Resolutions have been agreed to on the same subject by the board of congregational ministers, at their monthly meeting on Tuesday last.—*Chronicle.*

GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA.—Among the *on dits* in circulation at the leading political clubs is, that Sir James Graham, secretary of state for the home department, is likely to be selected to succeed Lord Ellenborough as governor-general of India.—*Morning Herald.* On this subject the *Chronicle* has the following *jeu d'esprit*:—

"India, for thee the breast of pity bleeds,
Where elephant to elephant succeeds."

The *Morning Post* says, "It now transpires, on good information, that government have every reason to believe that the income tax will yield nearer six millions annually than five."

Government is about to appoint a commission to inquire into the sanitary condition of towns, the labours of that commission to be conducted on scientific principles.

Friday night's *Gazette* states that Lord Seaton is appointed lord high commissioner of the Ionian islands.

Postscript.

Wednesday, February 22nd, 1843.

CONDUCT OF LORD ABINGER.

In the house of Commons last night, after a declaration by Sir Robert Peel, in reply to Mr Wallace, that he would not, in all probability, bring forward his budget until the commencement of April, Mr T. S. DUNCOMBE moved for a select committee to inquire into, and report upon, the judicial conduct of Lord Abinger "at the special commissions issued in October last." The learned judge (Mr Duncombe said) had exhibited in his charges and in his sentences an unjust, a rancorous, and a party spirit. The general feeling of the country had thus been roused against him; of which the best evidence was to be found in the comments of the periodical press. Mr Duncombe, to prove this proposition, quoted

divers passages from the newspapers of the time, unanimously condemning, in terms of marked severity, the arbitrary conduct of Lord Abinger. Precedents for the committee now asked for would be found in the cases of Mr Kenrick, a Welsh judge, and of Baron Smith, an Irish judge. In the latter case, the whig government, with the exception of Sir James Graham, supported the inquiry; but, to be sure, it was opposed by Sir James Scarlett, who then said he detested a political judge, and who therefore, if consistent, must now hate himself. His charge at Liverpool resembled his charge at Chester, but went rather beyond it. In the charge at Chester he stated the objects of the chartists to be universal suffrage, annual parliaments, and vote by ballot; and enlarged upon the tendency of such institutions to the destruction of property, traveling out of his way to insult the constitution of America. At Liverpool he took a still more malignant line, inasmuch that the press, for very shame, omitted several passages in reporting him. He had told the grand jury that the principles of the chartists were little short of high treason. Now, they might be good or bad, but no judge had a right to tell a jury that men were guilty of little less than high treason for advocating the principles which it was the constitutional right of those who believed in them to uphold. Sir F. Pollock, on the trials at Newport, had admitted, nay, asserted this right. It was the duty of the judge to be counsel for the prisoner, especially when undefended, as was the case with many of the prisoners at Liverpool; but so far from acting as the prisoners' counsel, he had addressed the petty jury against them, and endeavoured to fasten round their necks what Lord Erskine had called the mill-stone of prejudice. The prisoners having been convicted, Lord Abinger took a similar tone in passing sentence on them; and when the foreman of the jury recommended two of them to mercy, on the ground that those two did not seem to have been present at the seditious meeting then in question, Lord Abinger, after telling him that a doubt about the fact of their presence would be a reason, not for a merciful sentence, but for an absolute acquittal, went on to give it as his clear opinion that the presence of both at the meeting was proved beyond a doubt. Mr Duncombe proceeded at great length to quote various other expressions of Lord Abinger, equally objectionable with those before instanced. He asked what the public would think of the government, and what would become of Lord Abinger's character, if a ministerial majority should refuse this inquiry? For the sake of the poor, and for the sake of impartial justice, he besought the House to grant it.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL met the motion with a direct negative. No petitions complaining of Lord Abinger's conduct had been presented from any person who had heard and witnessed the proceedings; and the language of the judge was directed, not against the discussion of the charter, but against the system of combination, intimidation, and insurrection which had been directed by what was called a "Committee of Public Safety," a body which, in the exercise of its assumed functions, gave licenses for the performance of whatever work they might deem to be of paramount necessity, and therefore, permissible as an infraction of the general system of suspension of labour. The sentences passed by Lord Abinger, and which had been condemned as severe, had proceeded from the united deliberations of three judges. He concluded with a warm eulogium of the character of Lord Abinger, and said he was anxious to shield him, in his old age, after a life of brilliant and honourable service, from that species of mortification and disgrace which an inquiry into his conduct on a particular occasion would bring with it.

Mr ROSS, Mr SERJEANT MURPHY, Mr WALLACE, Mr THESIGER, and Mr JOHN WORTLEY then delivered their opinions on the subject; the three former strongly censuring the conduct of Lord Abinger, the other two defending it.

Mr SCARLETT (Lord Abinger's eldest son), "with visible emotion" (says the *Times*), appealed to the House whether his father had been fairly dealt with. Lord Abinger had always been a strenuous defender of the constitution, and it was remarkable that, at different periods of his political life, he had been engaged in a struggle with the Clodios and Catalines of the day.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL was of opinion, that a motion of censure ought not, except in the gravest cases, to be entertained by this House. To sanction such attempts would be effectually to destroy the independence of the judges. Had Lord Abinger wilfully endeavoured to oppress any of the Queen's subjects, he might have felt it necessary to make an exception from what ought to be the general rule; but Lord Abinger's character precluded such a supposition. He, however, could not agree in the view taken by the Attorney-general. In troubled times it was peculiarly necessary that the charges of the judges should be mild and temperate, because the sentences would thus obtain the more complete and general acquiescence. Lord Abinger's charges were objectionable as mixing political with legal matters, and so withdrawing the minds of the jury from the one proper subject of their cognizance. Lord John Russell then selected some particular paragraphs as exemplifying his objection. They proved, in his opinion, that Lord Abinger, having much legal and much political knowledge, had brought his political knowledge to bear where his legal knowledge alone ought to have been exhibited.

SIR JAMES GRAHAM rejoiced in the noble lord's determination to oppose this motion, the more especially because he felt assured that in the present circumstances of the country its success would have

alarmed the friends, and encouraged the enemies, of law and order. On former occasions, when the conduct of judges had been impugned, the course had been, not to propose inquiry, but to lay substantive charges on the table. He could not help concurring with Mr Scarlett, who had observed that the time was not yet come when it was to be held culpable in an English judge to expound to a jury the advantages of the English constitution. It was the duty of a judge, not only to contend against the encroachments of prerogative and of privileges, but likewise to restrain popular license when it threatened danger to the common good. He concluded with a warm panegyric on Lord Abinger's judicial character.

Mr SHARMAN CRAWFORD censured Lord John Russell for refusing his support to this motion.

Mr DUNCOMBE, in reply, read, amid much laughter, a speech delivered by Sir James Graham at Cocker-mouth, during the progress of the Reform bill, in which the right hon. baronet, who now praised Lord Abinger so highly, attacked him by his then title of Sir James Scarlett as a recreant whig. He believed that if the report of the short-hand writers were produced it would discredit the supposed accuracy of the charges, as published by Lord Abinger.

The House then divided—

Against the motion	228
For it	73

Majority against it 155

HOUSE OF LORDS.

In the house of Lords last night the Marquis of Clanricarde obtained a committee to inquire into the progress of the works of the new houses of parliament. Several noble lords, Lord Brougham among the foremost, expressed their dissatisfaction with their present accommodation, complaining that at one time the house "was like a cold bath," and at another "like a vapour bath," while the house of Commons had comfortable quarters, good ventilation, and an agreeable temperature. They therefore wished to get into their new house as quickly as possible. The only other event was the presentation of a host of petitions by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Chester, the Bishop of Rochester, and the Bishop of Lincoln, all condemning the union of the sees of St Asaph and Bangor.

FRANCE.—With the exception of the everlasting intriguing going on between the hundred sections of the opposition, who appear fiercely indignant that a ministry in France should attempt to retain office beyond the enormous period of two years (for eighteen months' tenure of office is considered a matter of surprise in that country). There is no political news of interest. In fact, M. Guizot's supporters begin to want a change, and the *salons* of the leaders, and the *cafés* of the citizens are ever busy with intrigues and rumours of intrigues. The grand attack of the opposition and malcontents from the ministerial ranks is reserved for the debate on the Secret Service Money bill, when there appears a probability that the Soult Guizot cabinet will be beaten and forced to resign. The Lesseps affair, between France and Spain, is not yet let loose from the meshes of diplomacy, but "like a wounded snake, drags its slow length along."

From other quarters the news is unimportant, with the exception of the following:—

GENEVA.—An insurrectionary movement manifested itself at Geneva at six o'clock on the evening of the 13th inst. The tocsin was immediately sounded, and the insurgents, who mostly belonged to the suburb of St Gervais, the centre of the partisans of the movement, gained possession of two of the city gates. A collision took place between them and the troops, in which eleven persons were said to have been either killed or wounded. Among the dead were Messrs Fournier, major of the place, and Fech, a councillor of state. The insurgents marched against the Hotel de Ville, the seat of the government, but failed in their attempt to carry it. An attack was equally made against the powder mill, which was vigorously defended, and remained in the hands of the government. The movement was believed to have been occasioned by a law voted on the 13th by the council of state, authorising the police to institute domiciliary visits in order to discover the hiding place of a foreigner expelled from the Canton. The *Commerce* announces that order and tranquillity had been restored. On that day the council of state unanimously adopted the following resolution:—"A full and entire amnesty is granted for all the acts that occurred on the 13th and 14th inst, during the collision which took place on those days between the citizens of Geneva."

BIRMINGHAM.—TUESDAY NIGHT.—The members and friends of the Union, held their public meeting, this night, in the Mechanics' institution. There was a very numerous attendance. Joseph Sturge, Esq., president, in the chair. The minutes of the executive committee were unanimously confirmed. Henry Vincent delivered an address, detailing his recent progress in Reading, London, Sudbury, Northampton, Kettering, Peterborough, &c., &c.; and is again to address them on Thursday evening. The Chairman called attention to a requisition to the Town hall commissioners, to be signed by the rate payers, requesting the use of the Town hall for a complete suffrage lecture, to be delivered by the Rev. T. Spencer, of Bath.

CORN MARKET. MARK LANE, THIS DAY.

The supply of wheat is moderate. Business is very dull, but there is no alteration in price.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"M. S." We have long since put on record our objection to, so called, national education.

"Animalium Amicus." "A fellow-feeling makes us wondrous kind."

"A Noncon. Reader." Thanks. All right; but we have not yet received the document from the opposition.

"Investigator." Next week.

ERRATUM.—In No. XIV. on the Strike, in paragraph 11, ninth line from the bottom, for "there was a general and active sympathy," read "there was no general and active sympathy."

Terms for advertising in the *Nonconformist*.

For 7 lines 5s. 0d. | For 10 lines 6s. 0d.

For every additional line 4d.

For a half column £1 5s. | For a column .. £2 0s.

* Advertisements from the country must be accompanied by a post-office order, or reference for payment in London.

Orders for the *Nonconformist* are received at the office, and by all booksellers and news-vendors. The terms of subscription, if paid in advance, are £1 6s. per annum. All communications for the Editor should be addressed to the office, No. 4, Crane court, Fleet street.

The Nonconformist.

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, FEB. 22, 1843.

SUMMARY.

THE long debate on the distress of the country closed on Saturday morning by a division of 115 majority in favour of "Let's take our chance." The report of it is a dreary waste of words—an immense flat, almost undiversified by a single hillock—barren as the palm of your hand, showing only here and there, in special nooks, the flowers of oratory, which will grow upon almost any soil. Our duty has compelled us to traverse the whole length and breadth of it; and, having done so, we say, "Happy are they whose duty does not take them that same way! It is an awful and wearisome distance to go for nothing!"

The design of five nights' clishmaclaver is happily, or unhappily, tolerably evident. It was much of a muchness with that of the black hatbands and white cambric pocket handkerchiefs of mutes at a funeral—a professional parade of grief—weeping in the way of business—lamentation deliberately resorted to for appearance sake; because, under similar circumstances, appearance of lamentation has been the custom as long back as political parties can remember. The country is in distress—chiefly because some six hundred and odd gentlemen, at a great price, purchased the power of making laws for their own special advantage—and because, in the pursuit of their vocation, their zeal overlooks all niceties, and, in its haste to reach the object in view, upsets all other interests. The land, therefore, mourns—or, perhaps, to avoid the possibility of mistake, we should rather say, the people of the land mourn. The prosperity which they had nursed with fond expectations, and of which they had watched the growth with beating hopes, is ridden down before their eyes by aristocratic legislation—is ridden down and expires. It would seem unseemly in any but senators to affect the solemnity of grief at the catastrophe which they have themselves, not unwittingly, compassed; and when, as on the late debate, they present themselves unasked at the funeral of the departed, we wonder they do not hear the genius of their country upbraiding them in the language of Anne to Gloucester—

"Hence, and trouble us not;
For thou hast made the happy earth thy hell,
Fill'd it with cursing cries and deep exclaims.
If thou delight to view thy heinous deeds,
Behold this pattern of thy butcheries."

However, a decent show of grief that pain should choose to follow blows, and that commercial confusion, want of employment, and starvation, should result from laws framed with a view to make bread scarce, was judged necessary; and in the business of making a hollow show, your genuine whig is the tip-top artist. This seemed to be the general feeling. Mr Wallace had given notice of a motion on the distress of the country, for Tuesday in last week; but Mr Wallace might be too sincere, and might make the whole thing too earnest a business, and so, with whig dexterity, Lord Howick's notice slips in just before Mr Wallace, and takes the affair out of his hands. A resolution is submitted to the House, which, just as we predicted, pledges nobody—affirms nothing—tends to no practical result—lets off, at the commencement of the session, a great deal of pent-up patriotism—exhibits the whig party in a borrowed and favourable light—puts the Anti-corn-law League representatives into a false position—sends across the stage, arm in arm, Mr Villiers and Lord John Russell, Mr Cobden and Mr Ward—and prepares the way for leaving the free-trade party to show itself, by and bye, when all excitement is over, and all confidence in the League is gone, as an insignificant section of the political world. One would have thought Mr

Cobden and Mr Villiers, but for a great deal of reform dust in their eyes, might have seen how early Lord John was at his appropriate work—letting down gently the excitement which the League had been at such expense to raise. But no! no snubbing, it seems, can effectually cut off the whig's tail. Go where he will, that follows him. They who expect Lord John to be left of his *quondam* supporters will probably find their mistake to the end of the chapter.

"Little Bo-peep has lost his sheep,
And can't tell where to find them;
Let them alone and they'll come home,
And bring their tails behind them."

The conduct of the debate offers a topic or two for remark. It was carried on chiefly by subordinates. The leaders took no further part in it than was absolutely necessary. Its prevailing and almost uninterrupted tone was "protection." The difficulty which evidently pressed hardest upon the speakers was, to put forward a sufficient difference of opinion between the two parties to justify any distinction between whig and tory. True, the most opposite theories imaginable were broached; but then they invariably begun or ended at the same point—"protection." Principles of every hue were scattered with bold hand; but all were meant to defend "protection." The members of the cabinet who spoke, apparently taking courage from the shilly-shally course of the free traders, waxed bolder as the debate advanced, and left the country without the smallest pretext for supposing that they contemplate further relaxations of our commercial code. At the conclusion of the debate, a scene occurred to which we have elsewhere adverted—such a scene as might have prompted the *Patriot* (who, by the bye, we hope will weigh the contents of Mr Sturge's letter inserted in another column) to designate the House a "complete scuffle conference." It was a most characteristic termination of a most contemptible waste of public time and public patience.

The only other topic of considerable interest submitted to parliament during the week was, in both houses, votes of thanks to the leaders in the Chinese war, and to Lord Ellenborough and his generals for bringing to a close the war in Afghanistan. There was wonderful unanimity. Lord Brougham asked leave to lick the Duke of Wellington's shoes, and professed almost equal readiness to do the same for Lord Ellenborough. The noble lord was a savage monster once, and his roar made the forest shake. But he is now led about by "the duke" with a chain, and does tricks at the bidding and for the profit of his keeper. The grisly bruin stands on end and shows his paws to all the little boys and girls—opens his very wide mouth when he is told—and sometimes hugs to death the unfortunate curs who yelp at the heels of "the duke" as a suspicious character. In the House of Commons there was no division, after all the menaces of impeachment with which the whig press rang about three months since. Lord John Russell showed his teeth, but declined to bite; Lord Palmerston was nowhere; and Mr Hume, as if he had more character on his hands than he knew what to do with, volunteered qualified approval in both instances. We beg to hint to the member for Montrose, that he has not more character on hand than he will find necessary.

We have done with parliament for this week—and now for one word touching anticipated elections. Sudbury is put out of the field, the bill for its disfranchisement having been read a second time in the House of Commons on Monday night, and that without remark. Nottingham is too uncertain to say anything about. Of Sheffield we know but little—but that little indicates danger. We have only thus much to say. Should Mr Parker retire, as eventually we suppose he will, Reform-club influence will move heaven and earth to keep out Colonel Thompson. The leaven is already at work. The *Leeds Mercury* has some influence in that town, and by means of it, whig unfaithfulness may reach, through unforeseen channels, many unsuspecting minds, especially amongst the dissenters. We implore the friends of complete suffrage to be firm. Colonel Thompson is, among the whigs, a black-balled man—too honest to be trusted with their work. He will be slipped out, if possible—and unwitting radicals will be made to do the deed. A word to the wise is sufficient.

Rumour is busy whispering about the metropolis that the government has now good reasons for concluding that the proceeds of the income tax will be nearer £7,000,000 than £6,000,000. Sir Robert Peel's main difficulty upon taking office appeared to be the equalisation of the income and expenditure of the country. This, however, the Premier now appears likely to effect. Gilding an odious tax with the specious tariff, and a yet more specious announcement of his belief in certain abstract principles of free trade, he obtained consent to the imposition of a tax which all had thought to have been impracticable, except in time of war. He can now hold on for some four or five years, without further concession. His courage seems to have risen with the money in his exchequer, and he who was so supple last year can now afford to be insolent, and openly to bully where once he

would smilingly have cajoled. If the rumour adverted to prove correct, as we doubt not it will, then farewell for the present all hope of corn-law repeal. The financial difficulties of the country constituted the only door of hope to this cause. These being got rid of, expectation may as well cease.

We shall do nothing more this week than barely point attention to our notices of the complete suffrage movement. There is plenty of life in the country, needing nothing more than to be called out. The hour for activity is now rapidly approaching. The council will, we trust, be ready to come forward at an early period with a vigorous plan of agitation. The moment is not far off when it will again become them to put the trumpet to their mouth, and blow a blast which shall startle the whole nation; and we predict, with the utmost confidence, that the muster of hosts about their banner will be so numerous as to surprise even themselves.

WASTE NOT, WANT NOT.

THE direction in which parliamentary proceedings have flowed, from the opening of the present session, too clearly indicates the prevalence, in the higher regions of the political world, of conventional maxims and rules of etiquette, the observance of which is incompatible with honest patriotism. It is but too plain, that somewhere or other, in the *terra incognita* of the Reform club, public spirit becomes absorbed, loses itself in arid and spongy wastes, and if it succeed in reaching the ground of "debate," emerges to light a sluggish and contemptible streamlet. We profess not to know precisely the process by which what is great "out of doors," invariably becomes little "in the house"—what was exultant, shows itself timid—what was firm, turns out compromising and undecided. We note only the fact. We see public opinion and popular feeling gathering during a recess—swelling, as it receives from every district a tributary stream, into a broad and capacious river. We observe it rolling onward, magnificent in volume, and, to all appearance, irresistible in might. It reaches the border which separates the people from their representatives. A sweep in its course takes it out of our sight. And when once more it comes within the ken of those "who stand without," it is majestic no longer—in many cases it is scarcely to be discerned—in all, it crawls lazily into sight, a dull, babbling, ridiculous brook—a miniature of its former self—a *mill stream*, not a river—a power to be directed and used, not, to force for itself a channel, and bear down all opposition.

We are bound in duty to say that the man, whatever may be his other claims upon our regard, who consents to this waste of public energy, is unfit to be trusted as the leader of a great cause. No man who treats political influence as if it were *his own*—no man who can dispose of any portion of it to further his own views of aggrandisement—no man who trembles not with intense anxiety to waste nothing of the power which a confiding public has put into his hands upon personal objects, and who is not pervaded by a sense of awful responsibility when millions rise up and say, "Go, speak in our name"—is qualified to take the guidance of a great movement like that which has begun its march. Such a man—if he can fetter himself with the swaths of party etiquette, or go from the presence of a mighty people, sent on their message and clothed with their power, to arrange terms with unfriendly and distrusted factions, in the antechamber of the people's house—as he appreciates not the dignity of his mission, so he is utterly incompetent to conduct it to a triumphant issue. Henceforth, we will believe in no cause which is to be filtered through the interstices of the Reform club—we will put our trust in no leader who surrounds himself with a staff of worn-out traders in politics—men who pawned their virtue at the Lichfield-house compact, and have never since been able to redeem it. They who, of choice, lean upon the arms of such companions, or who, in weakness of character, allow these trained beagles of whig power to hunt them into professional respectability and compromise, are plainly not the men for the people in the present day.

We address ourselves to Mr Cobden—we do so with respect. We think such, hitherto, has been his mistake. We trust—we believe, he is not too far gone to recover himself—but it will require a mighty effort. This effort he must make, however, or politically perish. Let others flatter Mr Cobden, we will not. In earnest good-will to him, and to the cause he has in hand, we will do what thousands would fain see done, but will not themselves attempt it—show him his real position, his mistake of judgment, and his only way to success. We have that confidence in his general good sense to believe that he will, in his heart, appreciate our forwardness. But whether he do so or not is to us, personally, a matter of minor importance—we shall have discharged our conscience, and shall have steered clear of self-reproach, happen what may.

We regard Mr Cobden's responsibility as even more fearful than that of Sir Robert Peel. The last wields the power of the aristocracy—the first has the confidence of the great body of the middle

classes of the empire. The representative of the Anti-corn-law League has made himself, and has become, the property of the public. The respect lavished upon him during his recent tour of agitation—the enthusiasm created by his presence—the municipal honours conferred upon him unasked—the quick response to his demand for £50,000, for anti-corn-law purposes—the hopes which, from every quarter of the country, look wistfully towards him—the undoubting trust reposed in his abilities and his integrity—the vast amount of political influence committed to his management—these things constitute a trust which he is bound, under the heaviest moral penalties, to administer with an exclusive view to the well-being of the people. Here is an accumulation, a centralisation, in himself, of power not his own—and he is under obligation to see that no portion of it be wasted. Mr Cobden is not at liberty to give heed to his private feelings, or to consult party convenience. He is answerable to the public for allowing any portion of his strength—strength identified with the courage and determination of his followers out of doors—to run to waste for the purpose of keeping whig reputation afloat, and so far to maintain appearances as to prolong the possibility of Lord John Russell's return to power in case of a fortunate chapter of accidents. A man in Mr Cobden's position is precluded from all such considerations as these. He ought not to have "conferred with flesh and blood." He had no business at the Reform club. He knew it to be the grave of political independence. He is misappropriating what a generous people have confided to him, in spending it for the benefit of whig and whig-radical cliques. The tens of thousands who have said to him, "Be thou our mouth—be thou our leader," meant not to be dragged at the heels of whig resolutions, and made to shout assent to motions which signify nothing. No! and we tell Mr Cobden, that those myriads whose breath, last winter, wafted him to unprecedented power, have been defrauded—have been, unwittingly perhaps, but effectually, betrayed.

The anti-corn-law spirit just previously to the opening of the present session, quickened into buoyant exultation by the Manchester banquet, paved the earth in impatience, and, like a steed of war, actually whinnied to be led into action. There was, at that moment, an uncontrollable energy about it, which would have overlept all ordinary difficulties. It was, in truth, a sight worth seeing. Fire glanced from its eye, and life rolled from its nostrils. It tossed its head with proud determination. All its veins stood out, filled with the courage which heaved and swelled within. What has become of that spirit? Where is it now? How happens it that within a month, a little month, the public mind has settled down into tame despondency? The royal speech omits all mention of the corn law—the House of Lords passes over the question *sub silentio*—the prime minister declares his determination to resist any further change at present—the House of Commons manifests for the subject an utter contempt; and yet the public stirs not—not a meeting is held—not a remonstrance is uttered—the very press which a week or two before was so sanguine, makes spiritless comments on the whole affair. The cause would seem to have suffered a perfect collapse. In parliament, whigs sneer, and Tories hoot—none but the free traders are feeble and out of heart. How happens this? Naturally enough. We ascribe it to Mr Cobden's entanglement in Reform club snares. Nothing was clearer than his course. The power at his back he ought to have led at once and boldly into the field, instead of separating into party cantonments. Had he passed by the whigs unheeded, leaving them to follow him—had he been in his place, on the first day of the session, to propose a bold amendment to the address—had he given notice of a motion, for the very next evening, embodying the principle of total repeal—had he demonstrated his determination to spend the whole session in putting both sections of the landlord power in the wrong—in exposing their common rapacity and common hostility to the people—the courage of his troops would have passed over deep trenches, and scaled high walls, in pursuit of victory. This was the kind of conflict to which they wanted to be led. And now upwards of three weeks have stolen away, and Mr Cobden has done nothing yet but make a vigorous speech, terminating in a vote in favour of a whig motion.

This will not do. In faithfulness to Mr Cobden, and in real concern for a great cause, we say "This will not do." He who wastes public enthusiasm in party manœuvres, will want that enthusiasm when most he needs it. Unless Mr Cobden instantly retrieve his position, he is, as a political leader, lost for ever. We are persuaded that his influence is far more damaged already than he has the smallest suspicion of. It is not, however, beyond recall. Let him withdraw from the Reform club—let him take the first opportunity of openly separating himself from whig alliance—let him eschew the patronage of those who sold themselves and the popular cause at Lichfield house—let him enlarge his heart to admit other principles besides that of corn law repeal—let him be heedless of his own fame, careful only to lead the people to triumph—

let him bring forward motion after motion, which will admit of being handled against the aristocracy as a whole, and will force whigs and Tories into the same division list—let him cherish more faith in the people, less in tactics—cultivate more assiduously his out-door influence, and care less for parliamentary progress—be more sincere, and less dexterous—and there is open before him a highway to true glory. He cannot but succeed—none will, in such case, rob him of his reward—and when he quits this scene, a grateful nation will raise a monument to his honour, and crown it with a garland of amaranthine praise.

"YAW—HAW!" "BAH!" "BAH!" PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY; AND OTHER PLEASING MANIFESTATIONS OF LANDLORD CONVERSION.

ON Friday evening last, towards the conclusion of the debate in parliament on Lord Howick's motion respecting the distress of the country, one of those scenes occurred which may be described as rents in the conventionalism of parliament, through which a wondering and gaping people is able to discover more of the true motives which influence our legislators than could be done through a hundred orderly discussions. The House began to manifest considerable impatience at the home thrusts of Mr Milner Gibson, and gave expression to those peculiarly appropriate cries of agricultural disquietude—"Yaw—haw! Bah! bah!" The full measure of landlord wrath, however, was reserved for Mr Cobden, and was inflicted by the hands of Sir Robert Peel. The member for Stockport judging, falsely as we think, that it is in the power of Sir Robert Peel to force the landlords to a surrender, but that he is pursuing a policy condemned by all his principles, had, in the course of his speech, repeated what he had affirmed elsewhere, that he held the member for Tamworth personally and individually responsible for the continuance of the present distress. The matter elicited at the moment no marked expression of feeling, save that Sir Robert Peel cried with peculiar emphasis, "Hear, hear." No sooner, however, had Mr Cobden brought his observations to a close, than Sir Robert Peel started up, and feigning or feeling unusual excitement, fastened upon this term of "personal responsibility," affixed to it a meaning which implied encouragement to assassination, and then flung back the menace which himself had created, with a gratuitous boast that he was not to be frightened from the post of duty. The House was in a perfect uproar. The member for Stockport was surrounded in a trice by bulls of Bashan, and at the signal of Sir Robert Peel, the whole herd of them shut their eyes, stiffened their tails, and bellowed like thunder. We wonder not that Mr Cobden's nerves were somewhat shaken, or that he should be anxious to explain what really needed no explanation. Sir Robert Peel played off upon him the stratagem once resorted to by Lord Chatham; who, upon some member personally offensive to him saying, in the course of his speech, "King, lords, and commons—commons, lords, and king," rose up from his seat, and with terrible solemnity, said, "Sir, I move that the honourable member's words be taken down." The honourable member faltered, attempted an explanation, was evidently dumb-founded, and sat down. Mr Cobden persisted in forcing his explanation upon the House, and he might note how even the Speaker himself, forgetting the impartiality of his office, sided with the overbearing majority, and tried to prevent his being heard. This done, the quasi-democrat Mr Roebuck, the living type of the *Spectator*, made an attack upon the member for Stockport, and distilled private conversation, which passed in the library of the house of Commons, into venom, which might poison the reputation of a too-successful rival.

Sir Robert Peel seemed to be specially indignant at the bare idea of being held to be personally responsible for the acts of his government, and yet, if the doctrines of our constitution be worth a fig, he, as the head of the present cabinet, is answerable to the country for its policy and its administration—answerable in his person and in his property, in all that he is and in all that he has. Does the honourable baronet suppose that his responsibility is a mere abstraction? Does he think that he is figuratively responsible only—that he is bound to render an account, if demanded, only by metaphor, officially, by effigy, or by proxy? and when reminded of that responsibility, has he the smallest right to insinuate that he who does so is pointing the dagger or leveling the pistol of the assassin? Was Warren Hastings less personally responsible than Mr Percival? Cannot a man be brought to account without shooting him in the streets? Is there no bar of justice, no public tribunal before which Sir Robert Peel and his colleagues may one day be compelled by an indignant people to take their trial according to the prescribed forms of the British constitution? Pooh! pooh! The excitement of the Premier could have been nothing but a *ruse*—a feint resorted to in order to extricate himself from a difficulty.

The whole scene, however, is peculiarly instruc-

tive, and will, we hope, be specially serviceable to the member for Stockport. We are not about to inflict upon this gentleman a second homily, but we will draw conclusions for our own and our readers' advantage. We take it, then, that a landlord's house is not so easily to be converted to a repeal of the corn laws as sanguine natures are apt to imagine. We take it that friendly alliance with Reform-club radicals is not precisely the best means to insure the triumph of sound principles. We take it that all parties will conspire to upset Mr Cobden as soon as they are able, and that the smallest deference by earnest men to the advice of politicians, who at their own private tables execrate the cause which in public they espouse, is utterly thrown away, will gain no respect, will not increase political influence, will do nothing to promote a reputation for honesty. We take credit to ourselves for having warned the free-trade party, at the very commencement of the present parliament, of the danger to which they were exposed from this quarter; and for having pointed out to them, ere they stepped across the threshold of the present session, the utter futility of making terms with political coteries. We hope there are many whose eyes the scene of Friday night last will effectually open; and we trust that they who bid us hope to win corn law repeal from the House of Commons as at present constituted, will have the goodness to point out what phrenological organ of the legislating body it is required to magnetise in order to success.

THE SHOWMAN AND HIS MONKEY.

THERE is a certain noble lord who once occupied the woolsack, and who ever since his elevation into the atmosphere of the peerage has exhibited symptoms of being off his head, or troubled, as the Scotch would say, with "a bee in his bonnet," who seems determined in the present position of parties to play the mountebank. His special delight is to blow a trumpet before the Duke of Wellington, to show him off as the greatest living wonder, to utter notes of admiration upon the worth of his testimony, and to bid all men, whenever they shall hear the sound of sackbut or psaltery, to fall down and do homage at the feet of this lordly prodigy. And this showman of the upper house, like other showmen, has a tame monkey, in the lower. A little, agile, ugly, imitative creature, which repeats the tricks of its master, blows the self-same trumpet, makes the self-same grimaces, and squats about upon his little stage as though he were really some great one. The mountebank holds his familiar by a chain, and both he and his ape are supposed to be upon the most friendly terms with existing authorities. It is extremely curious to watch the minute correspondence there is between the actions of these two. One denounces the regarding of the anti-corn-law question in a religious light; the other "in his place" repeats the denunciation. One but half-condemns the income tax, whilst he really praises it, the other more than half praises, and only faintly condemns. And now both appear to be in dudgeon with the League, for no earthly reason that one can divine but that the League's booth at the great fair is likely to outvie their own, and so throw them into the shade. We wish we could think otherwise of both the great and the little man, but late events forbid; and we expect, consequently, that should the League maintain its power, the showman and his monkey will evince the highest extreme of irritability. Is there no way of pacifying these worthies, whether major or minor? Let the League bethink themselves.

MR O'NEIL AND THE DUDLEY MAGISTRATES.

WE had intended to have offered some remarks on the important judgment of the Queen's Bench in Mr O'Neil's case, which we gave at length in our last number. We learn, however, that a motion is about to be made in the House of Commons for a return of copies of the affidavits on which the rule *nisi* for a criminal information against Thos Badger, Esq., and — Cartwright, clerk, was obtained, and of the affidavits filed in reply; and also of the judgment of the Court thereon. When those shall have been printed, and in the hands of members and of the public, we shall recur to this subject as being one of the most important questions affecting the liberties of Englishmen that has arisen in modern times; and, as the result has been to defeat a settled and deliberate design to abridge those liberties to an extent the effect of which cannot be estimated, we shall take care hereafter that the country is informed to whose patriotic interference, in the midst of disgraceful and ruinous apathy to so vital a question by the whole metropolitan press, and the mass of the middle classes, it is indebted for its exemption from the threatened mischief.

The Queen and Prince Albert, accompanied by the Prince of Wales and the Princess Royal, and attended by the suite, arrived in town on Friday, from Windsor castle, by the Great Western railway, and repaired to Buckingham palace, where it is understood that the Queen will remain until after her Majesty's accouchement.

The Complete Suffrage Movement.

The weekly meeting of the executive committee was held at the office of the Union, Waterloo street, Birmingham on Monday last.

The secretary reported that he had forwarded the resolution of the last meeting to Mr Crawford, and read the following reply:—

"London, Feb. 15th, 1843.

"SIR—I have received your letter transmitting the resolution of the executive committee—and in compliance with their wishes, I shall feel pleasure in fixing the discussion on the bill for the 9th of March, or the soonest day after that which the business of the House will admit of.

Yours very truly,

"Wm Morgan, Esq.

W. S. CRAWFORD."

The secretary then read the following letter from Mr Duncombe, M.P.:—

"The Albany, Feb. 18th, 1843.

"SIR—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 12th, transmitting to me a copy of a resolution agreed to at the late complete suffrage conference, and in reply, beg to assure those you represent, that I shall have much pleasure in supporting Mr Sharman Crawford's motion on the 9th of next month.

"I have the honour to remain, sir, yours faithfully,

"Wm Morgan, Esq.

T. S. DUNCOMBE."

Resolved—That Mr Herbert Spencer of Derby, and Mr Albright, be added to the committee for examining tracts.

Letters were read from W. W. Buchanan, Liverpool; R. Hardy, Worcester; John J. Darken, Norwich; R. Rumney, Ardwick; W. A. Gardner, Preston; W. Tullis, Markinch; James Allen, Sheffield; Samuel Darke, Worcester; Rev. W. Leask, and Henry Vincent.

A letter was read from Rev. Thomas White, of Northampton, from which we give the following extracts:—

"The measure itself is at once momentous and honest, and involves the rights of citizenship, than which there is but one greater right—but the right is so imperfectly known, so little understood—looked at through so much prejudice, that it is with difficulty pressed upon the attention of the public. Men of every grade in society, of all standing and degrees, of every profession and pursuit, are ignorant alike of its bearing and its justness; and, worse than all this, they refuse to come to the light and the intelligence which is to make them wise about the measure, and to disabuse their mind of its prejudice. Much has been done by the lectures, and the high-minded who, incorruptible amidst the bribes of power or the illusions of ease, go steadily on preaching moral honesty and political truth; but these, having been under the ban of the governing, and denounced by the press as levelers and destructionists, which misinterprets their sayings and perverts their reasonings, and insidiously and speciously brings all they say and all they do into disrepute, are unwillingly listened to—nay, are often, from mere prejudice, left to tell their convincing tale to the already decided, or at most to those who, though men and brethren, are without influence either pecuniarily or mentally. We cannot get them to hear—that is, the men we want—and thus, much of our labour is in vain.

"I was the more convinced in this than ever on Monday and Tuesday last, when Mr Henry Vincent came to Northampton; his lectures were highly interesting and intellectual—inoffensive but decided—pointed but not personal—being an exposition of bad systems and false theories, rather than bad men and worse theorists; and yet while the large room was full, the persons in attendance comprised the working class, and not the trading or middle-class community. These are the persons we want the lectures to tell upon. They are entrenched by prejudice, and are not readers, except of the daily or provincial newspapers.

"I may be permitted to congratulate you upon the steps taken by the National Complete Suffrage Union in seeking to circulate light by the press. I wish there were means adopted to send, by the hands of the deacons and elders, pastors and teachers throughout the country, tracts enough for all the members both of their churches and congregations. I think there might be an introduction effected to the straitest of sectaries, by a personal visit of yourself to our great provincial towns, coming to some minister or influential layman, and issuing circulars inviting dissenting ministers, deacons, and influential laymen all around to a conference.

"I would not be unmindful of the organ, so consistently yielded both in power and principle to the advocacy of enlightened and free institutions. The *Nonconformist* is not a battery raised to elevate engines merely for annoyance and missile, at which enemies may smile, cover themselves, and escape; but elevated to discharge upon the dense bodies of evil—political, ecclesiastical, and civil, a fearful and almost annihilating shower, making cowardice quail, and dark and deadly evil to bend beneath its overwhelming force. I trust both effort and energy will be expended to stamp honesty with approval and integrity with support."

MR STURGE AND THE RELIGIOUS WHIG PRESS.

To the Friends of Civil and Religious Liberty.

Accustomed as I am to misrepresentation of all kinds, and from every quarter, there are few personal considerations to induce me to notice newspaper attacks; but as my name has been connected with a cause I believe to be identified with Christian truth and justice, and as some of the most violent assaults upon it are found in the editorial articles of organs assuming to express the views of the dissenting religious public, I feel bound to make a few remarks for the sake of their readers, who place confidence in them as trustworthy exponents of right and wrong.

Amidst all the abuse which has been heaped upon the Complete Suffrage Union in the columns of the *Patriot*, the *Leeds Mercury*, &c., no one would imagine that the simple purpose of that Union was the enactment and administration of equal and just laws, by means of a full, fair, and free representation of the people.

For the promotion of this object delegates from different parts of the United Kingdom were invited,

and met at Birmingham twice during last year. Of the last of these meetings the *Patriot* has given the most distorted and garbled representation.

At the first conference, the violent leaders of the chartists strove to effect the destruction of this movement by external opposition; at the last, the same purpose was sought to be accomplished by an appearance of amicable combination; and, being an active and organised body, they were able, in consequence of the apathy of the middle classes, to send a sufficient number of delegates to secure a majority on any vote they chose to bring forward.

Although such were the elements, a separation was effected in the most quiet and orderly manner, without an expression of ill will; and the conduct both of the united and separate bodies of this "scuffle conference" will bear comparison with any meetings for public purposes.

The principal business of the last conference was to consider a bill, to be brought before parliament, for securing the rights of the people. This bill was prepared by an able barrister; and had it been as true as it is false, that I had presented him with "fifty guineas," there are few legal men who, after examination of this document, would say that he was overpaid.

From the last article in the *Patriot* on the suffrage, I find that a friend has attempted my vindication. Had he consulted me, I could have told him, from past experience, how little he had to hope from an appeal to the "candour" of those he addressed.

Genuine and undefiled religion is found ever ready to do justly; but the mere professors of it, from the time of our Saviour to the present day, have been the greatest opponents of equal justice. "The American churches are the bulwarks of American slavery," and in England the strongest supporters of political slavery are to be found, not only within the pale of the establishment, but also amongst dissenters, many of whom have been indebted to the zeal of the working classes for their own political enfranchisement.

Of these the *Patriot* has become the prominent organ; and principles which have been advocated by the most illustrious men of English history, are designated by this paper in terms too gross for quotation.

The most contemptuous language is used to describe a conference, the seceding part of which was composed of upwards of 100 individuals, of most respectable character; and many of them well known and pious members of the denominations that paper professes to represent.

In conclusion, I may assure all those who take an honest interest in my advocacy of the people's rights, that I am far from feeling "self-reproaches" for the part I have taken in this movement; and that the steady, silent, but rapid progress which the cause is making amongst the best part of the Christian community, ought to satisfy the most sanguine of its friends.

JOSEPH STURGE.

Birmingham, 2nd Month, 20th, 1843.

KETTERING.—At a full meeting of the Complete Suffrage society, held Feb. 2nd, a vote of confidence in the Birmingham council, and of thanks to the Rev. W. Robinson for his conduct at the conference, was passed. There were three dissentients. Mr Vincent lectured here on the 15th and 16th. The last lecture was attended by a larger number of electors than had attended any former meeting of the Complete Suffrage society in this town. The lectures were a happy combination of luminous logic and glorious eloquence, and have given a decided impulse to the cause which Mr Vincent advocated. Many persons were present who have not hitherto attended suffrage meetings. We are setting to work in good earnest in order to move the electors throughout our division of the county. A correspondence has been opened for that purpose, and the Electors' League is in course of signature.

NORTHAMPTON.—On Tuesday evening, the 14th inst., Mr H. Vincent delivered his second lecture on complete suffrage in the Peacock hotel assembly room, to a crowded and attentive audience. Notwithstanding the attempt, on the previous evening, of the O'Connorites to destroy the reputation of the lecturer, and the objects of the complete suffragists generally, twenty-five electors enrolled themselves as members, besides a number of non-electors, some of whom will be qualified to be registered this year. The following resolution was passed without a single dissentient voice. Proposed by the Rev. T. R. White, and seconded by the Rev. R. Tunley—"Resolved, That, in the opinion of this meeting the objects contemplated by the Complete Suffrage Union being fully developed by Mr H. Vincent in his lectures, the thanks of this meeting be given to him; and that we publicly, through this meeting, record our confidence in his honest and upright conduct as an advocate of the universal people's political rights."

PETERBOROUGH.—Complete suffrage has at length made its appearance in this cathedral borough—though not without some difficulty, for the borough is in the hands of two rival parties, the heads of which are the house of Milton and the cathedral. On Wednesday last a few tradesmen, anxious to introduce Mr Vincent to the inhabitants, privately agreed to take the Assembly room for that purpose, and bills were issued announcing a lecture on complete suffrage. No sooner did the bills appear, than the proprietor of the room was ordered to refuse its use, and the theatre was afterwards obtained for Friday evening. Mr Vincent arrived in the evening, and so timid were the tradesmen that none dared appear publicly against him. At seven o'clock, to everybody's astonishment, a large audience assembled, amongst which was a very numerous proportion of the middle classes. Mr

Vincent introduced himself to the meeting, and was most cordially welcomed. He addressed the meeting upwards of two hours, in illustration and defence of the principles of complete suffrage. To every principle put forth by the speaker the meeting responded with enthusiasm. Indeed, we have seldom seen an assembly so heartily accord with the sentiments of a public speaker. Mr Vincent strongly urged upon them to aid the complete suffrage movement, and announced that he would address them again on Saturday night. Three cheers were given, and the meeting separated. A second lecture was delivered on Saturday. The town was all talk; the nicely balanced state of parties causing people to feel much interest in principles which seemed calculated to shake the strength of both. Accordingly, at night the theatre was crowded, and Mr Vincent was received with loud cheers. Again the voters assembled in large numbers, and several farmers were present. Mr Vincent was listened to with deep interest, interrupted only by the cheers of the crowded meeting. It is hoped something will now be done to form a union; but whether this take place or not, it is pleasing to know that complete suffrage has received the sanction and cheers of two of the best political meetings ever held in Peterborough. Mr Vincent was earnestly requested to visit the town again at his earliest convenience.

LIVERPOOL.—We find that the recent visit of that eminent Christian philanthropist and patriot, Joseph Sturge, Esq., to this town, for conversation with his political friends, and the subsequent delivery of a lecture by Mr Vincent, on the constitutional right and necessity of a "full, fair, and free" representation of the people; have led to preliminary proceedings for the organisation of a complete suffrage association in Liverpool. A provisional committee is conducting its present operations, in which are some active and highly respectable politicians. A circular of principles, objects, and rules, has been published, to which several have subscribed their names and contributions; and it is in contemplation to hold a public meeting as soon as further information and lectures have been given. We believe that the majority of the present subscribers are electors.—*Liverpool Mercury*.

NOTTINGHAM ELECTION.—Calculating upon Mr Walter being unseated in the house of Commons by petition, Mr Feargus O'Connor announces that he will not only withdraw from Mr Joseph Sturge his support at the new election, but that he will register his vote and voice against Mr Sturge, when he shall again offer himself as a candidate for chartist support. Such is the issue of the attempt to unite the chartists and the general suffragists, and such the confirmation of the predictions which foretold this issue.—*Leeds Mercury*. [It might also be added to the last clause of the paragraph, such is the consistency of a professed organ of public opinion, which in no measured terms denounced the complete suffrage party for a seeming connexion with the chartists, and, now that all connexion between them has ceased, coolly turns round and taunts the former with not having cemented the union.]

BANBURY.—On Thursday evening last, Mr R. K. Philp lectured in the theatre to a very numerous and respectable audience, "On the constitution of man, and its relation to external nature." The lecture was illustrated by several accurate drawings, explanatory of phrenology, and gave much satisfaction. At the conclusion, Mr Philp announced his intention to lecture "On man-worship—a glance at its history and evil effects," on the following Thursday evening. A requisition to W. Tancred, Esq., M.P. for Banbury, to support Mr Crawford's motion for leave to bring in a bill, &c., is in course of preparation.

LEEDS.—A very numerous meeting of the members of the Complete Suffrage association was held at the Old George inn, on Saturday last, for the purpose of setting on foot measures for the establishment of a news room, the delivering of lectures, and the regular holding of meetings by the association. An excellent and commodious room has been taken in Kirkgate, and great zeal is being displayed by the committee in forwarding the objects of the body.—*Leeds Times*.

ABERDEEN.—A special general meeting of the members of the Complete Suffrage association was held on Wednesday, for the purpose of electing a council and office bearers for the next half year. Mr John McPherson, comb manufacturer, was elected president; Mr Campbell, wood merchant, vice-president; and Mr John Mitchell, secretary. A vote of thanks was passed to the respective gentlemen whose period of office had expired, after which a council of sixteen was elected to manage the general business of the Union. The association, with a view that Sharman Crawford may be as extensively supported as possible when he brings in his Complete Suffrage bill, resolved to put the following memorial, addressed to our city member, into immediate circulation amongst the electors:—"We, the undersigned electors in the city of Aberdeen, beg to call your attention to the fact, that Mr Sharman Crawford intends to bring a bill into parliament, providing for the full, fair, and free representation of the people, on the principle of extending the elective franchise to every male citizen of twenty-one years of age, and respectfully to request that you will support him on that occasion."

DUNDEE.—On the evening of Monday last, a meeting of the inhabitants was convened by the Complete Suffrage association, in the Bell street hall, to hear the report of the late Birmingham conference, by one of the delegates, Mr O. J. Rowland, who has lately arrived in Dundee. Alexander Easson, Esq., councillor, occupied the chair, and introduced Mr Rowland by a few appropriate remarks. Mr Rowland went over the proceedings of

the conference in a distinct and intelligent manner, and stated very powerful and satisfactory reasons for the course he had pursued with regard to the division between the suffrage and chartist parties. At the conclusion he called on Mr William Davidson, the other delegate, to prove the charge he had made against him (Mr Rowland), of being a pledge breaker. He administered a pretty severe rebuke to Mr Davidson, for attempting to criminate him in his absence, by charging him with pledge breaking, when the fact, as Mr Davidson well knew was, that he had gone to the conference without any pledge. Mr Davidson replied, and said that Mr Rowland ought to have remained with the majority; that they were the conference. Mr Rowland said he was never asked, when elected, to pursue such a course; had he been so he would have given no such pledge; he therefore rebutted the charge of pledge breaking, and advised Mr Davidson from henceforth to be satisfied with applauding himself without injuring his neighbour. Mr Alexander Sim then rose, and proposed a resolution to the effect that this meeting will co-operate with any party who agitate for all the "six points" of the radical creed, and supported the same by an eloquent speech. Mr David Kidd proposed an amendment, that the people's charter is a document well calculated to secure the people's rights; the amendment was supported by Mr William Anderson, in a harangue of frothy crimination. Mr Sim replied, and as the chairman was proceeding to put the vote, Mr John Hunter characterised the intended amendment as no amendment to the motion, inasmuch as the motion included the amendment; and therefore by voting for one they voted for both, or by voting against one they voted against both; thus the amendment stultified its own design. He moved that they should be put up together; the supporters of the amendment, however, called for a vote. The chairman then put the vote, although he appreciated Mr Hunter's view of the subject. After the show of hands on both sides, the chairman said Mr Sim's motion had a considerable majority of votes. Thus has the open policy of the suffrage party triumphed in Dundee.

ACTION FOR DEFACTION OF CHARACTER.—The *Glasgow Saturday Post* says that Mr J. P. Rodger, secretary of the Glasgow Complete Suffrage association, has raised and executed an action of damages before the Sheriff, against Mr James Moir, a notorious chartist, Gallowgate, for defamation of character, concluding for £500. The grounds of the action consist in certain libelous and defamatory expressions used towards Mr Rodger by Mr Moir.

General News.

FOREIGN.

AMERICA.

The Caledonia mail steamer, which left Halifax on the 4th inst, arrived at Liverpool on Friday, with 45 passengers, bringing intelligence to the 2nd inst. The exchequer plan has been rejected by the House of Representatives by an overwhelming majority. The proposal of General Johnson for an assumption of state debts by the general government is said to be growing in favour. Of the Oregon Territory bill, which was introduced into the Senate, the correspondent of the *Chronicle* says—

"Up to the present time, the prospect is, that nothing will be done this session with Mr Linn's bill. The great talents of Messrs Calhoun, Choate, McDuffie, and Berrien (all eminent statesmen and learned in international law), being thrown into the scale, cause Mr Linn and his friends to kick the beam. But in future sessions the question will come up again, again, and again. It is to be regretted that Lord Ashburton was not instructed in his late mission to terminate the irritating difficulties. In the house a resolution has been adopted calling on the president of the United States to say 'whether any information has been received in relation to the (I quote the language of the resolution) proposed session by Mexico of California to England.'"

The advices from Mexico do not add any intelligence of interest to that received by the Solway. Campeachy had not been taken by the Mexicans on the 5th. The Montezuma steam ship was hourly expected at Campeachy, from Vera Cruz, with 1,500 or 2,000 troops, and by many it was thought that Santa Anna himself would accompany them. If he does, we are fearful the thing will be all over with Yucatan, as the supreme dictator would never trust himself in that section unless the chances were altogether in his favour. It is computed that the Mexicans have lost 1,700 men by sickness, desertion, the sword, &c., since they first landed at Campeachy. They are still dying at the rate of some 15 or 20 a day, and at present are doing little except occasionally throwing a few shells into the town by night. Active operations, it is thought, will commence when the reinforcements expected arrive. The *Picayune* says, that "at Campeachy affairs remained in about the same state as at the last advices. The Mexicans have encompassed the city on nearly every side, and are using every exertion to reduce it, but the people still hold out, and appear determined to defend it to the last. What the result will be time only will show."

Private letters from Canada, by the mail of this morning, assure us, says the *Spectator*, that Sir C. Bagot remains in a dangerous state. Loyal and affectionate addresses continue to be presented to him from all parts of the province; and he has received one from Three Rivers, the town which Mr Ogden, the late attorney-general, represents in the Assembly, expressing approval of the policy which removed Mr Ogden from office to make room for Mr Lafontaine.

SPAIN.

A manifesto has been published, signed by the Regent and all the ministers, addressed to the Spaniards on the occasion of the approaching elections. After denouncing to them the intrigues and artifices of the enemies of the country, who had suc-

ceeded in two instances, at Madrid and Barcelona, in disturbing the peace of the monarchy, and reminding them of the calamities he had shown in repressing those two rebellions, the Regent proceeds to vindicate his motive for having dissolved the Cortes and convoked a new legislature. He then recommends his countrymen, before they deposit their votes in the electoral urn, to consider maturely if the citizen whom they are about to invest with their confidence be competent and worthy to discharge the great and glorious mission which would be reserved to the new Cortes. The address concludes, "I am the representative of that will which required civil and political liberty, in order that Spain should not be exposed a second time to such an ignominious outrage; the same which proclaimed Isabella II., and defended her heroically against the efforts of Don Carlos, and finally protected her in September, and preserved her from the dangers of the last insurrection. In this will is my force—in it I place my confidence; and if the legislators which you are about to elect are penetrated with the same sentiments, the grand work shall be crowned with success."

The Barcelona papers of the 7th inst announce that the state of siege, which was to have been suspended on the 12th, on account of the elections, would not be again enforced, unless some unpleasant event should occur.

PORTUGAL.

Lisbon news has been received to the 13th instant. Oporto had remained tranquil, and the spirit of insurrection appeared to be effectually suppressed. There had been no loss of life or limb, and but two wounded persons had been carried to the hospital. The opposition journal, the *Coallisaio*, had been suppressed. Four Septembrist leaders in all had been arrested, and awaited trial by a special commission, while two others had been ordered to leave the Portuguese territory without delay by the military authorities.

Lord Aberdeen's reply to the so-called ultimatum of Portugal had not been yet received, but in the highest political circles the belief prevailed that the tariff would be speedily reduced. The question of reducing the Madeira *pauta* was postponed until the final decision shall have been taken with regard to the general tariff.

The coalition had been busily intriguing for the removal of Costa Cabral from the ministry, but their manoeuvres had led to nothing.

Memorials had poured into the Chambers from Carcavellos, Oeiras, Almada, &c., praying for the relief of the distressed wine interests of Estremadura.

The 10th inst. was celebrated at Lisbon as a grand gala-day, in commemoration of the restoration of the charter.

FOREIGN MISCELLANY.

THE REPUBLIC OF PARAGUAY.—The English government has been desirous for some time of establishing diplomatic and commercial relations with this country, which, since the death of Dr Francia, has become a republic, governed by five consuls. These efforts appeared to be crowned with success, as several British merchants who have entered the country have been well received, as well as Mr Gordon, who entered it as an envoy from the British government. We learn, however, that a sudden and serious difficulty has sprung up recently, and that Mr Gordon has been ordered to leave the country. The cause of this difference we have been unable to learn. —*Liverpool Times*.

FALL OF AVALANCHES.—The neighbourhood of Chamouny has suffered exceedingly this year from the fall of avalanches. On the 15th of January, in particular, a great number came down, and considerable damage was effected. At Ouches, between the baths of St Gervais and Chamouny, the dead bodies of a father and his three daughters have been dug out. The mother and another daughter were found alive. At St Nicholas a young girl was killed by the fall of a mass of snow from Mont-Joly, and, by another fall, the steeple of the church of Vallorsine was thrown down, and the roofs were stripped from the church and the house of the curé. This fall was followed by several others, so that from Argentières and Vallorsine, a three hours' journey, nothing can be seen but masses of snow, the bridges, houses, and trees having totally disappeared. A village not far from Mégeve was totally overwhelmed, and fourteen persons were killed.

CHINA.—The *Univers* states that several Jesuits are about to be sent to China, as missionaries, by the Catholic Missionary society, and mentions that letters have been received at Rome from catholic missionaries in China, declaring that the Emperor intends in future to allow such persons to travel freely through his territories, and to offer religious instruction.

The *Berlin Gazette* of the 7th inst states, that at an assembly of the delegates of that city, held on that day, a resolution that their debates should be public was negatived by 56 against 45 votes.

FRANCE AND BELGIUM.—The *Journal des Débats* states, that "the manifestations in favour of a commercial union with Belgium continue to increase, although the ministry appear to have entirely adjourned the negotiations. The greater number of the maritime towns and a number of the first-rate manufacturing cities have declared in favour of a commercial union. The Chamber of Commerce of Lyons has returned to the charge. It recommends the government not only to negotiate with Belgium, but to endeavour to renew the commercial relations with every nation disposed to meet them on terms of reciprocity."

EXPEDITION TO THE SOUTH POLE.—Lieutenant M'Murdo, of the *Terror*, has arrived in town from

this expedition, which he left at the Falkland Islands, and in the highest spirits possible, and states that Captain Ross had triumphantly accomplished every object for which the expedition was undertaken; and that the government at home, sensible of this, had left it entirely to Captain Ross's discretion as to whether he should return home at once, or remain out for a short period, for the purpose of exploring other objects of interest in this hitherto imperfectly known part of our globe; that Captain Ross had chosen the former, so that we may therefore expect him home early in May. Lieut. M'Murdo also states that in consequence of the excellent discipline observed on board the *Erebus* and *Terror*, and the great care and attention paid to the health of their respective crews, the *Terror* had not lost a single man since leaving England, and the *Erebus* only four, viz.—one blown overboard in a gale at the Cape, another from some constitutional disease, and the other two from natural causes. Lieut. M'Murdo is also the bearer of several valuable specimens of grasses and seeds, collected during the progress of the expedition in the southern hemisphere. The ships *Erebus* and *Terror* were, says the *Falmouth Packet*, at length stopped in their progress by an impenetrable barrier of ice, two hundred feet high. The depth of the sea was so great, up to the very base of this icy chain, that it was quite impossible to leave the ships, as they were continually exposed to the dangers of icebergs. Had it been practicable, a company would have proceeded overland, in hope of arriving at the South magnetic pole, which they found, by calculation, was situated about 100 miles further southward. The volcano, Mount *Terror*, which, when first discovered by our countrymen, although in active operation, was then covered with snow, has so increased in energy as to have melted the whole of it; and the volcano now presents a black and fearful aspect in the midst of this icy waste.

DOMESTIC.

METROPOLITAN.

THE ANTI-CORN-LAW LEAGUE.—The council of the Anti-corn-law League have arrived in the metropolis; the agitation of London has been renewed with vigour. Public meetings have taken place during the past week at Islington, Bethnal green, Kensington, Portland town, Camberwell, and other places. An address has been issued by the League since their arrival in London, from which we make the following extract:—

"We make our appeal to all, without distinction of class or party. This cause is the cause of all. Landowners! is it your choice to live in a declining country, surrounded by a pauperised population, and with an embarrassed exchequer? Farmers! what has monopoly ever done for you, but tempt you by fallacious promises of artificial prices, into ruinous contracts, to pay impossible rents? Fundholders! can you show reasons for sharing the confidence expressed in the royal speech, that 'the future produce of the revenue will be sufficient to meet every exigency of the public service,' so long as the causes remain in unchecked action that have made it insufficient? Shipowners! what is your vast mercantile navy worth to you, while monopoly cramps and crushes the commerce that should employ it? Bankers, merchants, manufacturers, traders, of every class and degree! to what can you look for a prospect or possibility of reviving profits on your wasting capital, but to the overthrow of the monopoly that obstructs your way? Working men, when and how will you get your fair day's wages for your fair day's work, but by the downfall of that monopoly which artificially limits the demand for your labour, and destroys the fund from which you alone can be remunerated? Ministers of religion, philanthropists, and Christians! how will you train and evangelise a suffering and discontented population, or bring by your labours glory to God, while advancing misery forbids peace on earth, and the sense of wrong dries up the sources of good-will towards men."

ST MARYLEBONE BANK FOR SAVINGS.—The 13th annual general meeting of this institution was held on Thursday, the sixteenth of this month, at the office, No. 76, Welbeck street, Cavendish square. The Rev. J. H. Spry, D.D., in the chair. It appeared from the several reports read to the meeting, that the progress of this bank continues to be of a very favourable description, no less than 2,386 new deposits having been made in the last year; 13,349 deposit accounts remained open on the 20th of November last, of which no less than 8,536 held balances averaging less than 4*l.* 10*s.* 2*d.* each. Upwards of 285,382*l.* was then invested with the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt; this amount has since risen to 293,982*l.*, and is rapidly on the advance. The continued evidence thus afforded of the strong and growing disposition of the working classes to provide against the casualties of life, will prove a source of gratification to all reflecting minds; and it may indeed be hoped that this provident disposition has its influence in improving the character and conduct; materially contributing to this class of workmen being the last to be discharged whenever establishments are reduced from scarcity of work. —*From a Correspondent*.

CAUTION.—We have received the following letter from the Rev. J. Burns, minister of *Enon* chapel, New Church street, Marylebone:—"Will you allow me, through your columns, to warn the religious and benevolent public against an attempt to excite commiseration and to obtain money, by a woman of the name of Stevens, who represents herself to have been the subject of much persecution from the pastor and others of *Enon* chapel, St Marylebone. Nearly two years ago the above person was expelled by the church for irreligious, unprincipled conduct, and has had no connexion with us since, nor has she ever been interfered with by us in any way whatever. Her printed circular is utterly devoid of truth."

SKATING IN THE PARK.—On Thursday and Friday the parks were thronged by parties anxious to enjoy this exhilarating exercise, and notwithstanding repeated warning of danger, especially on the former day, many got immersed, but were happily extricated. On Thursday a young woman attempted to go on the ice in St James's park. One of the gatekeepers informed her of her danger, as well as of the accident which had occurred a short time previously; she, however, laughed at the caution, and went on; but she had not been there five minutes before she was observed to sink. Her cries speedily brought the society's men to her aid. They succeeded in bringing her out, she having, however, sunk up to her shoulders. At a quarter to five o'clock, just before the gates were closed, three boys fell in at the upper end, nearly opposite to the palace, one of whom was several minutes in the water before he was rescued. Fortunately, not one of the eight sustained any further injury than a severe ducking. For this the *Examiner* suggests the following remedy:—

"People don't do these things where care is not taken to prevent them and to rescue them. No one ever tumbles into a pond unwatched by the Humane society. There is a determination of the rashness of the town to the water in St James's park and the Serpentine. An Inhumane society would cure all this; an Inhumane society, to show people where they would find the thinnest ice, and the deepest holes, and to furnish people with weights to assist their sinking. Why are all the suicides by drowning committed in the Serpentine? There is water enough elsewhere. The thing would cease, or the scene would be changed, if an Inhumane society pointed out the convenient spots, and constructed stages to leap from. There might be accommodations, too, in what is now the receiving-house, for shooting, and poisoning, and suffocating with charcoal, all with a tariff of prices, so much for a pistol, so much for a razor, &c. If such an establishment were set up by an Inhumane society, not a creature would ever make use of it, and the neighbourhood would be quite free from suicides."

THE HIGH TIDES.—On Friday and Saturday the tide rose so high, that the Thames overflowed its banks near Wandsworth, Vauxhall, and Lambeth—the houses in York road had three feet of water flowing right through them. In the Blackfriars road the cellars and warehouses had a regular tide passing through them of several feet.

EXTRAORDINARY CHARGE OF ROBBING A CLUB, AGAINST ONE OF ITS MEMBERS.—At Marlborough street, on Thursday, Joshua Jones Ashley, aged 37, a member of the Junior United Service, and several other clubs, and formerly one of the firm of Ashley and Son, the bankers and army agents, of Regent street, was this morning placed at the bar before Mr Hardwicke, charged with stealing plate belonging to the Junior United Service club. Evidence was adduced to show that he had taken a parcel of silver spoons to a jeweler's, and ordered his initials, J. J. A. upon them, other initials having been obliterated. It appeared he had repeatedly had his initials put on forks and spoons at the same place. At his lodgings a box was found, which contained duplicates for property that had been pledged, amounting to £120, of which £90 worth consisted of silver spoons and forks. The case was remanded for further investigation. It was stated that the prisoner is a member of five or six of the clubs at the west end of the town, and that most of them have lost plate, but could never fix suspicion upon any one individual. The butler of the Reform club lost £70 worth of spoons and forks in one year.

DESTRUCTION OF A GUN FACTORY.—Wednesday a fire broke out on the premises of Mr Barnett, gun manufacturer, 134 Minories. The manufactory, which was about five stories high, and occupied an immense area of ground at the rear of the dwelling houses, and extended a considerable distance along Vine street, Crutchedfriars, was one complete body of fire, which was blazing away at a most furious rate. The various fire mains in the district were drawn, and fortunately a plentiful supply of water instantly flowed. The ravages were confined to Mr Barnett's premises. The origin of the fire could not be ascertained.

PROVINCIAL.

DISTRIBUTION OF ANTI-CORN-LAW TRACTS.—The distribution of packets of tracts among the electors throughout the kingdom, is proceeding with great rapidity, and every day brings fresh evidence of the immense effect which this influx of knowledge is producing. Already upwards of twenty tons weight of tracts have been distributed. The distribution has been nearly completed throughout the counties of North and South Wiltshire, North Lancashire, South Cheshire, Northumberland, Durham, and the North Riding of Yorkshire. The arrangements for the other counties are in progress. In addition to these the following list of cities and towns already supplied will prove the attention which has been devoted to this subject:—Edinburgh, Glasgow, Lincoln, Newark, Tamworth, York, Newcastle, Lancaster, Aylesbury, Devizes, Calne, Chippenham, Clithero, Brighton, Marlborough, Malsbury, Cricklade, Coventry, Tavistock, Warrington, Knaresborough, Nottingham, Taunton, Northampton, Gloucester. — *Anti-bread-tax Circular.*

REPRESENTATION OF BRADFORD.—The *Bradford Observer* says:—"Within the last few days a report which was current enough in the fall of last year, has been revived, viz.—that their venerable representative, Mr Hardy, is about to retire into the bosom of his family." It does not place much reliance upon the report, the only circumstance in favour of it being the presence of Mr Wilberforce in the town, and who, it is stated, has been employed in canvassing the electors, and sounding his prospects. The *Observer* adds:—Whether any plot is in embryo, whereby to undermine the 'free and independent'

suffrages of our electors we do not know, nor do we much care. Whenever a vacancy occurs in the representation, the liberals will be quite ready to assert their right to fill it up; and we are quite sure they will do so by bringing in a man of politics congenial to the great mass of the community, and whose talents and character must command respect in his house."

INCONVENIENT REFRESHER.—We find the following curious paragraph in the *Suffolk Chronicle* of Saturday:—"The Mayor of Harwich convened a meeting of the inhabitants at the Town hall, on Friday week, at the suggestion of some individuals, the object of which was to remind John Attwood, Esq., M.P. for the borough, of his promise to advance twenty thousand pounds on behalf of a Harwich railway, and to urge him forthwith to fulfil his promise. A deputation to Hylands was agreed upon." This is pretty cool, after the £10,000 said to have been spent in procuring a seat for Mr Attwood, but the electors of the borough seem thoroughly to understand the business. Their reasoning would probably amount to this:—"Parliament is virtually the dispenser of the national resources, since the government is subject to its control. Hence it is evident that the grand object in desiring a seat in the house, is either to finger as much as possible the public money, or to secure some personal object of ambition. It is thus the vast outlay of money in election expenses is quietly recovered—a large interest usually following so profitable an investment. Well, then, it is a business matter with our members, and we will take care it shall be a matter of business with us. We are losers in this scramble for the public money, since part is contributed by us. Is it not then fair and reasonable that we should make our representative share his profits with us, and indemnify us for the loss which we have sustained? The more parliament pays for its privileges, the more it extracts from the public. The one is a *quid pro quo*, and something more, for the others. Without doubt, then, it is the duty of their constituents to lessen the public robbery, by getting back from members, in the shape of purchase of seats, &c., as much as possible of their ill-gotten booty." A few tracts on this branch of political economy, by some Harwich elector well versed in the subject, would doubtless be well received by our present electoral constituency.

SOUTHAMPTON, FEB. 20.—The Oriental steamer, Captain Soy, that brought the Indian mail, arrived on Tuesday last, at Southampton from the Motherbank, where she had been performing quarantine. The West India steamer Trent sailed from hence on Wednesday. A West India steamer with the homeward mails is due at Falmouth this day. The Solway has left here for London to be repaired. Owing to a deficiency of ships, the Solway took the outward mails about two months since, and immediately returned. The government has resolved upon enforcing the penalties in future against the West India company in case of nonfulfilment of contract. The Trident, a chartered vessel, at an expense of 50*l.* per day, is now in the service of the company. The Trident on the Forth is the next expected vessel homeward. The Clyde will take out the next West India mails. The Lady Mary Wood left Southampton on Saturday, to take out the Peninsular and Mediterranean mails. The Hindostan steamer, that left here the latter end of September, reached Madras on the 20th of December. Her speed averaged 200 miles a day: she was to take the February outward mails and passengers from Suez to India. The last overland mail brought intelligence of the safe arrival in India of Mr George Thompson, the candidate for this borough at the last election, and the celebrated anti-corn-law advocate.

REBECCA AND HER DAUGHTERS.—The following is the history of the strange and novel disturbances that at present disquiet Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire, and in which Rebecca and her daughters take so prominent a part:—About seven years ago a turnpike road was made between Pembroke and Carmarthen, with the view of securing a great thoroughfare by it between Ireland and London. The Liverpool and Metropolitan railway has, however, frustrated the object by leaving but 32 miles of road from Carmarthen to Hobb's point or Milford, as a passage for the mail, which seldom carries more than three passengers a day. Very little thoroughfare else exists along it, as a carrier goes but once a week between Carmarthen and Pembroke, by which there is not money sufficient raised to pay the interest for the capital expended, much less to keep the road in repair. The trustees have power by act of parliament to put up toll-bars on lanes and bye-roads, and also of throwing the expense of the main road on the parishes; and that power they have exercised, which appears to have excited the peasantry to the late and continued acts of violence. The tollage upon the road amounts to 12*s.* 6*d.* upon each market cart for 12 miles, besides which the people have to keep the roads in repair. Rebecca has already destroyed the St Clear, Trefechan, Prendergate, and Pine toll-gates. She also boasts of having an auxiliary force of 500 men, true and faithful, at Haverfordwest. By order of the Home Secretary, the marines from Pembroke dockyard have been recalled, and the duty of pursuing the malecontents has devolved upon the Castlemartin yeomanry. The *Welshman*, of Saturday, records a further outrage on the part of these mysterious personages. Last Monday at midnight a mob of 40 or 50 persons destroyed two turnpike gates at Trevuchan in this county (Pembrokeshire), one leading to Tavernspite, the other to Lampeter, and entirely demolished the turnpike gate-house, out of which the gate-keeper had gone a little time previous for the night. The mob was observed to

come up the Lampeter road, and only three or four of them had disguised themselves. The excitement still continues in the lower part of Carmarthenshire, notwithstanding the discharge of the military and pensioners, and some of the less educated people pretend to have scripture warrant for their doings, quoting the 24th chapter of Genesis, as follows:—"And they blessed Rebekah and said unto her, thou shalt be the mother of hundreds of millions, and thy children shall possess the gates of them which hate them." This text, which is somewhat applicable to the situation of affairs near St Clears, is preached from and expatiated upon by many itinerant preachers, and the multitude doubtless believe they have a warrant for their lawless doings.

INCOME TAX RIOT.—At the Rochdale petty sessions, on Monday week, Mr William Waring, an aged farmer from Oldham, summoned James Woods, Esq., clerk to the tory bench of magistrates, for assaulting and striking him, on the Wednesday previous. Mr Woods, in his defence, said it was the appeal day for the income tax when the assault was committed, and the house and lobby of the Wellington hotel, Rochdale, were crowded to excess; he was leaning over the banisters of the stairs, requesting the people to be quiet; the company used abusive language, and several windows were broken; while addressing the people, the complainant got hold of his collar, and attempted to throw him over the rails; the crowd cried out "Kill him, kill him," and he did strike complainant in attempting to defend himself. Mr Woods said he was obliged to send for the county police, there was a regular riot, and his life was in danger. The case was dismissed, and Mr Woods took out summonses against Mr Waring and several others. The case has caused considerable excitement in Rochdale and the neighbourhood, in consequence of the singularity of the riot during the appeal days against the income tax.

HARWICH.—Rather more than three months ago, a number of rappers disappeared in the course of a night from the front doors of some of the most influential inhabitants of Harwich; and although a handsome reward was offered for the discovery of the parties engaged in the disgraceful business, they have hitherto escaped detection. On the 9th inst, however, a parcel was received here by the London steam packet, which, upon being opened, was found to contain the long missing rapper stolen from the door of our worthy and popular chief magistrate, accompanied by the following extraordinary production, purporting to come from the Lord Mayor of London, and written in imitation of Lord Ellenborough's celebrated proclamation to the chiefs and princes of India upon the restoration of the sandalwood gates to the temple of Somnauth. We heartily congratulate Captain Deane upon the unexpected restoration of his property, and have no doubt but that, when refixed upon his door, it will afford him more real satisfaction than the re-appearance of the trophies so lately taken from the tomb of Mahmoud will to the votaries of the temple from which they were snatched "in the year A. D. 1004." The following is a literal copy of the document which was enclosed with the brass rapper:—

"From the Lord Mayor of London, to the Mayor, Town Councillors, and People of Harwich.

"MY BROTHERS AND MY FRIENDS!—Our victorious constables bear the huge brass knocker of your mayor in triumph from the Minorities; and the Jewish phiz of Levy, the fence, looks from the grated window of the Stone Jug.

"The insult of one hundred days is at last avenged!—The missing knocker of your chief magistrate, so long the memorial of your having no police, has again become the proudest record of your municipal glory—the proof of your superiority in brass over the boroughs in schedule B.

"To you, town councillors and chief constables of Harwich, of Dovercourt, and of Ramsey, I shall commit this glorious trophy of successful priggery. You will yourselves, with all honour, transmit the brass knocker through your respective streets and lanes to the restored hall door of his worship the mayor.

"MY BROTHERS AND MY FRIENDS!—I have ever relied with confidence upon your attachment to whatever government happens to be in power. You see how worthy the present one proves itself of your love, when, regarding your honour as its own, it exerts the power of its beaks to restore to you the splendid ornament so ruthlessly torn from the gates of your chief.

"JOHN HUMPHREY.

"Mansion House, London, Feb. 3rd, 1843."

Suffolk Chronicle.

THE "PEEL VELVET" AGAIN.—On Tuesday last, Messrs Ainsworth, Sykes, and Co., were summoned before the Manchester borough magistrates for a fraudulent imitation of the "Peel velvet" patterns, the same being the copyright of Mr W. Barlow of Ancoats Vale print works. The case was, however, not proceeded with, but will be left until a counsel's opinion is taken as to whether the case should be heard before the borough or county magistrates.

REPEAL OF THE WOOL DUTY.—A memorial to her Majesty's government, praying for a repeal of the duty on foreign wool, and strongly exhibiting the mischievous operation of the duty on the woolen manufacture of the country, is now in course of signature by the manufacturers and merchants of this town. A similar memorial is in course of being signed at Huddersfield; and we believe the trading interests of Bradford, Halifax, and Dewsbury are likely to take the same step.—*Leeds Mercury.*

The spacious Free Trade hall, at Manchester, has been open for the last few nights for the innocent and healthful recreation of various classes and grades of society in that town. Promenades and concerts constitute the evening's entertainment—the number of visitors averaging about 1,500 each night; the

total for six nights was no fewer than 7,322 persons. It is reported that a grand oratorio will be held in the hall during the Easter holidays.

DISTRESS.—The distress at Stourbridge is stated to have become so alarming, that numbers are subsisting on turnips alone. From a field belonging to Thomas Pargeter, Esq., as many as from five to six tons a week have been taken for several weeks past; nor does he think it expedient to attempt to put a stop to the peculation. — *Worcester Journal*.

POWERFUL EFFECT OF SUPERSTITIOUS FEAR.—The house of John Brecknell, on Hopton bank, near the Clee hill, was broken into a short time since, while he, with his wife and two grandchildren were at chapel, and three sovereigns stolen. John, as may be supposed, was much annoyed at the loss of the gold, and more so as he had no clue to the thieves; but having taken consultation with his pillow, he hit on the following notable scheme:—He spread abroad the news of the robbery, and his firm intention of consulting the "wise woman at Kidderminster;" and this, too, with such success, that on Friday night last, as he, his wife, and the grandchildren before named (who, bye the bye, are two stalwart youths), were sitting round the fire at supper, something was thrown through the window, which striking a plate shelf at the opposite end of the room, demolished one plate and fractured another. The missile proved to be something wrapped up in a rag, and, on being opened, it was found to contain John's three sovereigns—the very three which he had lost! John's threat of going to the "wise woman" had effected this restoration of the stolen property. The promptitude with which the thieves returned the money is attributable to the circumstance that a few weeks ago a man on the Clee hill, having in some way offended his neighbour, the latter, out of revenge, went to the "wise woman" before named, who for a consideration caused the poor fellow who had offended his neighbour to go stone blind? This latter tale, it should be observed, is most firmly believed by the natives. — *Worcester Chronicle*.

SAVAGE CRUELTY.—On Sunday night week the cottage of a poor old labouring man, named Samuel Poppett, residing in a lone place near Priest Weston, in the parish of Churchstoke, Montgomeryshire, was broken into and entered by two men, who, after packing up everything of value they could lay their hands upon, deliberately sat down and made a fire, and then asked the poor trembling old man what death he should like to die, and whether they should hang or burn him? He replied that either would be very hard; whereupon they bound his mouth up with a handkerchief, and threw him on the fire, one of them kneeling on his body to keep him on the flames. The other wretch, meanwhile gathered together a lot of old rags, which he placed on the old man's breast and neck, and then set fire to them; and the torture became so extreme that the sufferer's senses forsook him, and he became utterly unconscious, in which state he remained for some hours. On recovering he crawled to the open air, where he was discovered in the morning in a dreadful state, the flesh being completely burnt from his neck and breast to below his ribs, both on the back and forepart of his body, and his whole person converted into a mass of scorched and charred mummy. Yet he still survives, though gradually sinking. The inhuman brutes who committed this merciless cruelty are yet undiscovered; but there are traces of them; and the keen vigilance of the police of two counties, urged on by the common detestation of so atrocious a cruelty will, we trust, shortly lead to their apprehension. — *Shrewsbury Chronicle*.

A CLERGYMAN SHOT AT GLOUCESTER.—On Monday week, a young man, about 18 years of age, was brought to the county goal, charged with having intentionally shot the Rev. Hugh Percy Rennett, perpetual curate of Norton. Mr Rennett, who is related to the Northumberland family, married a Mrs Clarke, the mother of the young man. The marriage was a very unhappy one, scarcely a day passing without some brawl. The young man took part with his mother, and it is alleged that the combined power of the mother and the son was too powerful for the single-handed vicar. On Friday night there was a quarrel, and on Saturday night another, in the course of which the vicar threatened to strike his wife. This, it is said, roused the passions of the son to an ungovernable pitch, and, seizing a loaded pistol, he fired at his step-father. The ball entered the neck. The rev. gentleman remains in a very precarious state.

CROFT, NEAR WAINFLEET.—A discovery of a most shocking kind was made on Tuesday morning last at this little village. A seal having been taken alive on the sea-coast, a lad, thinking that many persons would like to see it, went from house to house, and providentially happened to call at a cottage occupied by a respectable widow named Eliza Evison and her maiden sister, when he heard a voice begging somebody to "untie them;" the lad felt alarmed, and immediately ran to a neighbouring farmer, Mr Robert Searby, by whom assistance was given, and a most heart-rending scene presented itself; the two sisters were bound together hands and feet in bed by marline, and covered over with bed-clothes. Mrs Evison was dead, and the other very much exhausted; but being immediately released, and the kindest attention paid to her by Mrs R. Searby, it is hoped she will recover. It is ascertained that some villain entered the house by the window on Sunday night; and having procured a light and assisted himself to some eatables, he then bound the poor females, and left them to their fate. They were not discovered until Tuesday, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon. The utmost vigilance is being used by the worthy vicar of Croft and the respectable farmers in the parish, and a man, we hear, is now in Boston

gaol on strong suspicion of being the offender. He was taken at Swineshead, charged with uttering base coin, and some silver spoons were found on him, which are supposed to have been taken from the house at Croft, together with money in gold to the amount of 4l. — *Stamford Mercury*.

IRELAND.

COLERAINE ELECTION.—This election terminated on Friday evening. The candidates were Sir H. H. Bruce, episcopalian, tory, and Dr Boyd, presbyterian, tory, and supporter of the church of Scotland. The latter was decidedly the popular candidate, but the contest was severe. The poll closed on Friday evening, when the numbers were for—

Boyd	106
Bruce	84

Majority 22

Total number of electors that polled, 190. Oh, the perfection of our representative system!

COUNTY OF MONAGHAN ELECTION.—Mr Leslie, of Glasslough (conservative), was returned on Thursday, without opposition, to fill the vacancy caused by the elevation of the present Lord Rossmore to the peerage.

CAVAN COUNTY ELECTION.—The election for a representative, in the room of the late Colonel Clements, took place at Cavan, the same day. No one else being proposed, Captain Maxwell was declared duly elected. The gallant captain in returning thanks to the electors, pledged himself to support those protestant principles which had characterised his family in the representation of Cavan for upwards of a century and a half.

SCOTLAND.

KILMARNOCK.—Various rumours prevail at present in the political circles here that it is the intention of Mr Johnston, M.P. for the Kilmarnock district of burghs, to resign his seat on account of bad health, and that Mr Lumsden of Glasgow, and the Lord Advocate (D. McNeil, Esq.), will solicit the suffrages of the constituency for their respective interests. — *Glasgow Chronicle*. [The *Glasgow Citizen* asserts, "on good authority," that the statement is without foundation; but we trust the complete suffragists of Scotland will be prepared in this, or any similar emergency, with candidates whose honesty and high standing will enlist in their favour all classes of the community.]

DREADFUL SHIPWRECK.—Intelligence has just reached us of the loss of the schooner Rob Roy, of this place, which sailed from Sunderland a few days ago. This unfortunate circumstance occurred on Wednesday morning, at two o'clock, on Newbiggen rocks, near Blyth. The details are dreadful. The cries of the crew were heard amid the roaring of the storm, and on persons going down to the beach, the vessel with her unfortunate crew was discerned in the utmost distress. The vessel went to pieces immediately, and a female was seen among the surf with her hand stretched out for aid, waving a glove as a signal for assistance; but no human efforts could help her, and the back sweep of the sea carried her away. The rest of the crew were all drowned. Two of the bodies have been washed ashore; and a quantity of female and child's clothing, together with two silver spoons, have also washed up. It is supposed that the crew had been exhausted and worn out, and had run the vessel ashore to save their lives. — *Caledonian Mercury*.

DISTRESSING ACCIDENT.—The severe frost of the last two days having coated Duddingston loch with ice, a number of persons assembled to enjoy the exercise of skating. About a quarter-past four o'clock, a young man of genteel appearance was observed on a part of the loch nearly opposite the church, where the water is of considerable depth, and where the ice was exceedingly unsafe. He was cautioned by several persons not to venture away from the side, but, led away by the excitement of the exercise, he approached a fatal spot, where, the ice giving way, he was instantly immersed in the water. He rose again to the surface, and repeatedly grasped the edge of the ice with his hands, which as often gave way. During this period the unfortunate youth was calling out piteously for assistance, which, although a number of individuals (amongst whom was the Rev. Mr Macfarlane, minister of the parish) were within forty or fifty yards of him, could not be rendered. Several persons then ran to the village of Duddingston for ropes, but before they could be procured, nearly fifteen minutes had elapsed, previous to which, exhausted by his struggles to get on the ice, and benumbed by the intense cold, the unfortunate young man suddenly threw his arms into the air, and falling back into the water, perished. The unfortunate young gentleman was a medical student, named Alexander Jenoway, who resided in Montague street with his mother, the widow of Mr Jenoway, lately a lieutenant in the 1st or royal regiment of foot; and was to have left for America within a few days, to join a medical relative in the United States. — *Caledonian Mercury*.

Miscellaneous.

MISS MITFORD.—We are sorry to observe that the advertising columns of the *Chronicle* contain an address to the public, on behalf of the above lady; for many years her father, the late Dr Mitford, derived his chief support from her literary exertions. In the affecting language of the address, "during the last four years those exertions were but too frequently interrupted by the demands which his failing eyesight and declining health made upon her services, as reader and nurse;" and, when he died, at the advanced age of eighty-two, after a most protracted and expensive illness, "debts of between £800 and £900

had accumulated; the failure of a publisher within that period had occasioned a loss to nearly half that amount; so that, after the incessant labour of five-and-twenty years, after relinquishing her late mother's large fortune, and three legacies left exclusively to herself, Miss Mitford is unhappily overwhelmed by embarrassments, which she had no power to prevent, which her father has left no means to defray, and to discharge which the small pension of £100 a year, that she owes to her Majesty's bounty, is manifestly inadequate." To the address is appended a list of thirty-seven noblemen and gentlemen, who have kindly consented to receive subscriptions for Miss Mitford.

MUNIFICENT BEQUEST.—A gentleman, now living at Northfleet, has purchased for himself an annuity of £500 a-year, and the residue of his property (about £200,000) is to be appropriated to the building of 40 almshouses, the inmates of which are to receive 12s. a week each.

AMERICAN CHEESE.—At the sale of American cheese on Tuesday last, about 100 tons were brought forward. There was but an indifferent attendance of country buyers; holders, however, showed a disposition to meet them freely, and the principal part was sold; some of the very finest quality going at 46s. 6d. per cwt, equal in richness and flavour to the better class of Cheshire. — *Manchester Guardian*.

VARIETIES.

"Oh, what a soft seat," as the hat said when placed on the dandy's head.

DOUBTFUL SECURITY.—Looking at a mad bull through a telescope inverted for the purpose of keeping the animal at a respectable distance.

THE GREATEST NAVIGATORS.—Why are washerwomen the greatest navigators of the globe?—Because they are continually crossing the line, and running from pole to pole. — *Punch*.

A landlord threatened a poor Irishman the other day, to put a distress in his house if he did not pay his rent. "Put a distress in, is it you mane?" said Pat; "Och, by St Anthony's sow, but you had better take distress out, there's too much in already."

A COMFORTABLE BOROUGH.—The Plymouth papers announce the entire extinction of the borough rate in that town, the corporate property having so increased in value as to be equal to all the necessities of the council.

The first volume of Mr O'Connell's long-expected work, "An Historical Memoir of Ireland and the Irish," is said to be nearly ready for publication.

The trial of O'Connor and the other chartists connected with the Manchester disturbances will take place at Lancaster on the 25th inst.

ADVANCE OF RENTS.—We hear that a pretty general advance of rents on the farms belonging to Earl De Grey, in the neighbourhood of Boroughbridge, has just taken place. How far this is the result of legislative agricultural protection by a sliding scale, we are not prepared to say. — *Leeds Mercury*.

INFLUENZA AMONGST CATTLE AND SHEEP.—The contagious disorder which has now for nearly four years, more or less, attacked the cattle and sheep brought to the London markets, has this year returned with unabated violence. The disease is also extremely prevalent amongst cows and other cattle, and since Christmas Mr Rhodes, the extensive cow-keeper at Kingsland, has lost 170 of the former. Another cowkeeper in the neighbourhood of Gray's Inn lane, has also lost 42 within the last four weeks.

A voltaic telegraph is about to be laid down on the Great Western railway to Windsor castle, and back thence to the houses of parliament and Buckingham palace. The effect of this will be that, on important occasions, when her Majesty may be at Windsor, any intelligence of extraordinary interest can be transmitted in less than a second of time.

THE POOR OF THE EARTH.—It is on record (says a recent writer) that three bishops, in fifteen years, left 700,000l. to their families. By the probates at Doctors' Commons, it appeared in 1828 that the personal property of twenty-four bishops who had died within the preceding twenty years, amounted to the enormous sum of 1,649,000l.—an average of nearly 70,000l. for each bishop. Take the twenty-four last generals, the twenty-four last admirals, the twenty-four last judges—nay, the twenty-four last merchants—and their personal property will not equal that of the bishops, nor approach it.

A special meeting of the Midland Counties railway company was held on Tuesday last at Derby, when it was stated that the directors had effected savings in the annual working of the railway to the extent of 6,000l.

LONG LEASER.—At one of the audits of Sir E. Blount, Bart., of Mawley hall, Shropshire, an interesting statement was made. Several tenants were contesting the point as to which of their families could boast of having rented for the longest period on the estate, when a farmer named Allen satisfactorily proved that himself and ancestors had either been in the employ or rented under the Blount family for a period of nearly 780 years! that, in fact, his ancestors had immigrated from Normandy with that family at the time of the conquest, and from father to son each succeeding generation had been retained on the estate. — *Worcester Journal*.

SYMBOLIC EPITAPH.—In a recent number of the *Cambridge Chronicle* is the following typographical *moreau*:—"Death of a printer.—George Woodcock, the * of his profession, the type of honesty, the ! of all; and although the & of death has put a . to his existence, every § of his life was without a ||."

KEEPING LENT.—A high churchman was once asked what made his library look so thin? His reply was, "My books all keep Lent!"

Literature.

The Patrician's Daughter: a Tragedy, in Five Acts. By J. WESTLAND MARSTON. Fifth Edition. Mitchell, London. 1843.

Gerald: a Dramatic Poem: and other Poems. By J. WESTLAND MARSTON. 1843.

THESE poems are very noticeable productions, as well on account of their uncommon merit as their evident aim and tendency. That they should have attracted a considerable share of attention is by no means surprising, when we take a fair estimate either of the wants or the spirit of our times; and we shall not deny ourselves the pleasure of devoting such a portion of our space as we can conveniently afford to a passing examination of them.

In an elegant preface to the first edition of the "Patrician's Daughter," Mr Marston informs us that it originated in his "desire to write a tragedy which should be entirely indebted for its incident and passion to the habits and spirit of the present age;" and he proceeds, with no lack of enthusiasm, with no feeble asseveration, and in conscious assurance of success, to justify himself and encourage others in undertaking what is evidently a bold and novel experiment.

The very interesting question here started is evidently to be determined by actual experiment rather than *a priori* argument. Before glancing at the theory out of which this performance has arisen, let us to the play itself, if not to the play-house. What have we here? The plot is simple enough, though some of the critical situations and turning points seem scarcely coincident with the probabilities of actual life.

The hero, Mordaunt, is a young man of plebeian extraction, but great talents—an author, poet, and parliamentary orator: the heroine, Mabel, a beautiful creature, and as noble-souled as she is beautiful, the only child of the Earl of Lynterne, a peer of ancient family, and high in office. Mordaunt, who professes to belong to no party (though evidently with a strong leaning to "complete suffrage"), accepts the minister's courteous invitation to visit him at Lynterne castle, notwithstanding the fierce protests of his parliamentary associates, who had reckoned on him as indissolubly bound to their party. The intimacy between Mabel and Mordaunt commences—they fall in love, as the phrase is, but without any mutual expression of their attachment (an improbable circumstance, considering their mutual faculties of discourse). Mordaunt's visit has already been more than sufficiently protracted; and the peer's sister, Lady Lydia (Mabel's mother being dead), watches both the parties very suspiciously, and determines to drive the eloquent plebeian away. By her suggestions and practices on both parties she stimulates Mordaunt to make a rash and premature proposal of marriage to the proud father, which is instantly rejected with cold contempt; and Mabel is hurried by this plotting aunt into her father's presence, just at the moment of Mordaunt's rejection, all indignant at his presumption in formally seeking the peer's consent, without even the ceremony of asking her own. With protestations very unmannerly, and threats of revenge disguised as justice, Mordaunt retires. Both the lovers are deceived, though they know it not. After the lapse of five years, during which time Mordaunt has acquired high honours and political power, with no higher motive, apparently, than revenge upon the supposed insolence of the peer, and the supposed perfidy of the daughter, Mordaunt and Mabel stand affianced, strange to say! but after what explanations, or by what process of persuasion, concatenation of fate, or magical interposition of fortune, we can neither guess nor divine. The day of marriage is fixed, the guests assembled. The customary deed of settlement is about to be read, when Sir Edward Mordaunt, still ignorant of the aunt's intrigues and Mabel's innocence, interposes certain strange cutting questions, which touch and glance at the former transactions with hot satirical reference. Upon this the peer sternly demands, if he mean to wed his daughter—and he fiercely answers "No." The revenge is upon Mabel, who behaves with consummate dignity. Mordaunt retreats into public life. The match is at an end. Mabel, who, on the high ground of his unworthiness, will not permit her barbarous lover to be challenged or chastised, falls into a slow decline, and her recovery is hopeless; the aunt, horror-struck by the misery she has wrought, and cannot or will not rectify, sets out on foreign travel, where she soon sickens, repents, and returns to the castle, death-smitten and conscience-struck, to confess and explain all, when it is all too late. To save his daughter's life, the distracted peer, in spite of her remonstrances, betakes him to Mordaunt, to sue for his interposition, and meets with but poor encouragement. Meanwhile Mabel, recovering from a swoon, hears of her parent's departure, and, in a phrenzy of dying energy, she sets out to overtake him and prevent his useless humiliation. Mordaunt reads the penitent aunt's letter of explanation; and, while doing so, Mabel rushes into the apartment to her father; there is just time for a

fearful reconciliation—the moment is instantly embraced—Mordaunt talks like a madman—Mabel dies—and the piece ends.

Here, at any rate, we have a tragedy to exemplify the theory. In our opinion, the play might have been dated a couple of centuries ago. Mr Marston quotes with approbation the observation of a reviewer, in answer to the exception taken to the introduction of the present, as a poetic element, which we shall transcribe, with the additional note of the poet's.

"No age," says the writer, "is, in its literal and ordinary aspect, poetical, either to itself or to any other age. All ages are rendered poetical, by being viewed through the medium of the ideal; and the only question is, whether this medium cannot be applied to contemporary life with the same propriety as to the life of antiquity. We contend that a poet, in delineating the existing times, is no more bound to introduce every petty and unpoetical association belonging to them, than the painter of modern landscapes is necessitated to represent every brick-kiln and puddle which he may occasionally encounter."

Mr Marston adds—

"It has further been stated that this tragedy is virtually one of the past, inasmuch as the extreme pride of the Lynterne family is rarely exemplified in present life, I may be permitted to remark, that in all eras it is not the ordinary but the extreme character that is fitted for the purposes of tragedy."

We are apprehensive that the reviewer's "puddles" must prove unavoidable. His parallel between landscape painting and tragic poetry does not hold, though it might with descriptive poetry—the kindred principles, however, being obvious between historical or heroic painting and dramatic poetry; but if we are to look at things through this fairy "ideal," we do not see why these poor "puddles" should not become poetical, even as the spot called "Puddle dock" has become classical by its neighbourhood to a congenial establishment.

In reference to the quibble which Mr Marston condescends to notice, as to the extreme pride of the Lynterne family, we may just say that feudality is of the essence of the plot, and the hero's opposition to conventionalism the life of the whole piece. It will also be seen that the plot, hinging upon the deceit practised, results in a catastrophe most aristocratic, which, if it might have happened at all, might have happened at any period between the fall and the millenium, and in the "best regulated families."

It seems to us, at first sight, that the common novel, or the romance of real life, would be a more suitable form for the introduction of the present as a distinct poetic element, than that of the tragic drama. Of course comedy is not the province in dispute.

Some confusion seems to arise from employing the terms "the past" and "the present," as they seem to mean the same thing when the subject-matter is to be treated of dramatically. Our business, then, is with a spectacle, which is to be presented to us; for the time being we are, as spectators, where the scene is; we are in the time or the place of the plot. To the spectator it is all one; but certain laws are to be observed, or the illusion will not be complete. Why, then, should we be involved in a question of accidentals? The present amounts to no more than a question of costume; or whether we are to have heroes and heroines in the plain clothes worn now, or the plain clothes worn formerly. As a question of mere expense, that of costume is no doubt really important to a stage manager, but it is only so to the spectator as a matter of taste. The natural character must always be the same. With that, and only that, essentially, is the tragic poet's business. Our sympathies rest on the identity, so to speak, of one with all. The subject, human nature, must be treated, as it is, in any given aspect of it. The difficulty of dealing aright with the complex themes which our fallen humanity affords to the poetic artist is still as great as it ever was. Whatever the "whereabout" or "whenabout," the "whatabout" is and must be the same. The incidental and accidental must be duly observed; therefore the costume must be observed. But the tragic poet must deal with the essential and universal; and if costume mar or disturb the principles of illusion, it should be discarded. As to taking the incident and passion from the present or the past, from modern or by-gone life, it is a *cui-bono* question. The difficulty of producing a good tragedy, with all manner of accidental or *prestige* advantages, is all but insurmountable—at any rate it is unquestionable. Why waste any of the needed energies in needless contentions? Let the scene be when and where it may, why set the heroic and the familiar at antagonisms, or make costume a hindrance, which should be a help? We fear that a tragedy with the present for its "time element" must be a failure, by violating the law of association, on which illusion rests—by stamping that which should be universal with the arbitrary—by violating the clock-work certainties of modern life, and calling them probabilities—by throwing off didactic or descriptive, instead of tragic, poetry—by dealing with sentiments rather than characters, with events rather than actions—or torturing chances into fates. Supposing some of these difficulties surmounted, and the *dramatis personæ* selected from current

life, and tragical impersonations clothed in everyday dress, we are furthermore in danger of becoming impalpable in our creations to avoid personalities, or too much involved in existing realities to become germane to the present, or of missing the heroic, or mistaking it, considering that to be so which is not. The story of the present cannot be melted into history very easily. Nothing can be more dangerous than to look upon ourselves as heroic; or more ridiculous than the apotheosis of the living, or the direct worship or dramatic impersonation of any reigning idol, prejudice, or delusion—whether philosophic or popular, whether of the mob, the court, the mall, the change, or the studio. All fable, too, is lost if we are pointed too directly at the prototype. The *de te fabula narratur* should not be admitted into a prologue even, much less extended to embrace the piece and epilogue. Even a common conundrum would be spoiled, if the solution preceded the riddle.

Of a truth, the past, if not the only region of the ideal, is the only one for the highest art. It is more in every way than the present—more significant than the present—more ample, made up as it is of its centuries, and eras, and cycles—and, in one sense, better known to us than the present. For the heroic we must enter into the region of the past. It is death that confers the true immortality. When, and not until, the hero is admitted into the Pantheon of the past, do we properly regard him as a hero. Napoleon has found his way there—Wellington has not yet. Genius in any form must put on the weeds of the departed, the costume of the past, before we can recognise the heroic in it. There must be the lapse of years, if not the rush of numerous ages, over this time present, before the mythic germ bud into distinct expansion and true significance for us. A certain amount of illusion may of course be secured, at some expense of probability, by the use of accidentals. That which removes the hero from the mass—as senatorial rank, remoteness of character, aristocratic elevation, high talent, energy, or opportunity, or distance in place or country, may be gained; but, provided the selection and the treatment were commensurate, it would be gained without loss or hazard by antedating the scene. The muse of tragedy will not, we fear, be propitiated by selecting her subjects from the present, of which, from sheer necessity, we see little, and know less. In fact, we must leave our awful realities to our successors—and let novelists deal as best they may with the "Oliver Twists," and "Factory Boys." What the greatest dramatists which the world ever saw left unattempted, we may conclude they did not think proper to be attempted, and that they can not be successfully treated by any of their admirers.

We object to the theory, not on the ground of artistical impossibility in realising it, but that the needlessly imposed labour, encountered in the difficulty of overcoming the familiar, and the danger of mistaking it, almost amounts to the insurmountable.

But a truce to cavils. What will not genius attempt? Who will say it shall not succeed? If Mr Marston have not surmounted all the difficulties inherent in his theory, he has at all events made ample compensation, for what we consider unavoidable failure, by some very exquisite poetry. Critical objections to a theory must be silenced by gratitude for what has been done, in the all but successful realisation of an almost hopeless attempt.

The tragedy before us abounds in poetry; in poetry, too, which will stand the test of art, and may be acted as well as felt; it has been presented with success, and will continue to be read with delight. Some of Mordaunt's speeches, during his first love, and in his phrenzy, are of a high order; but neither in them, nor in the touching exclamations of Mabel, who is a very fine creation, do we meet with anything bordering upon extravagance. There is observed throughout a beautiful rhythm; a modern, yet characteristical, and truly original, rhythm. Not a few precious thoughts are contained in sentences exquisitely expressed. There are, indeed, many gems of sentiment and diction. Nothing is over wrought—there are no "purple patches," and the characters are well sustained. It is altogether as successful an attempt as we can expect to see on the theory referred to.

We may take an early opportunity of noting, at some length, the new and rich development of the dramatic genius amongst us, as being one of not the least significant signs of the times. The minds which now take this direction exercise too great an influence, for good or evil, not to call forth the charitable vigilance of a large-hearted censorship. If the ballads of a people show what they have been, would be, or are, how much more their popular plays? If there was much shrewdness in Fletcher's saying about the songs of a people, surely a book which is to be portrayed in the living scene, before the living myriads, and also (as with ourselves) to be presented in the "quiet and still air of delightful studies," can be no "dead thing," or wisely treated as such. Any good thing, whatever its guise, shall have welcome from us; being sure that goodness will come out of it, and with that, all cognate strength, and power, and true greatness. To attempt to realise a noble thought, whatever the

form, shall have all encouragement. Now that criticism has exercised itself deeply and well, upon the glorious models of ancient and modern times, we ourselves shall not lag among the last in trying to find out and display whatever of noble excellence in truth, or love, or passion, may be ministered to us, by contemporary heads and hands. We would hail every accession to our store of wealth. We shall cherish every fresh chaplet for the brow of national honour—and rejoice in every new wreath won from the soil, and born of the sun, and refreshed with the dew, and coloured by the rainbow hues, of the passing hour, of this our own fleeting day.

There is, perhaps, more poetry in "Gerald," the dramatic poem, than the play; and we shall probably be able, very soon, to say something upon this work, and the minor pieces published with it, and give our readers some specimens of their various merit.

Ward's Library of Standard Divinity. The Great Propitiation. By JOSEPH TRUMAN, B.D. Reprinted from the Second Edition, 1672. London: Ward and Co.

"There were giants in those days." A curious and interesting inquiry is suggested by the series of republications of which this is not the least valuable. We propose it for solution to men of reflecting habits, who have time to pursue speculative investigations of the sort. Is it a fact, that the literary productions of the seventeenth century, not sacred merely, but secular, were of a harder and more vigorous character than those which are the growth of the nineteenth? Or does it appear so to us, mainly in consequence of the position we occupy? When the lapse of two centuries shall have swept away all the underwood of the existing forest of books, will it leave standing, for the advantage of future generations, an equal proportion of noble trees, sound at heart, and stately in appearance? If not, why not? To what causes may be traced the very ephemeral character of our modern literature—the sickness of our divinity, for example, in comparison with that of a former age? Are those causes physical, social, political, or moral? We wish some real thinker would turn over this whole subject, and give the benefit of his reflections to the public. At all events, whether our forefathers were or were not men whose intellectual stature greatly exceeded our own, it is pleasant to have easy access to their most valuable works—particularly, in the department of theology. We have more than once expressed our admiration of Mr Ward's enterprise, and our gratitude to him for the stores of knowledge he has already put within the reach even of limited means. The work goes on. And the title of the present number will show that the interest of it does not abate, and that the judgment exercised in the editorial management of it is a guarantee against any falling off in this respect.

Sermons, by the late Rev. EBENEZER TEMPLE, of Rochford, Essex. With a Biographical Sketch of the Author by his Widow. London: John Snow. 1842.

POSTHUMOUS discourses constitute a very searching test of a man's worth—a test to which we should be sorry to subject the reputation of our best friends, and to which we hope we may never have our own exposed. We believe Mr Temple to have been a useful and an honoured minister of the truth, in the sphere assigned to him by the Head of the church. We lament his early decease—we may most truly say of him that his "memory is blessed." Yet, with every disposition to encourage rather than to depress the spirits of his amiable widow, we cannot consent to mislead our readers. The sermons contained in this volume are good, plain, unpretending, useful sermons—such as might have been delivered to a sober-minded congregation with great profit—such as may now be read in the family, or in the village assembly, to advantage. We don't know that they make any higher pretension. Such interest as they possess arises chiefly from personal associations. Apart from all considerations of this nature, they are a fair sample of intelligent preaching—not very striking, but far from contemptible—evinced no genius, but not devoid of sound sense, accurate in formation and pious feeling.

Religious Intelligence.

CHINA.—The Lord Bishop of Antigua, in a sermon preached on Sunday morning, at St Clement Danes church, Strand, on behalf of the society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, stated that it was the intention of the society to send missionaries to China without delay, and at no distant period a bishop. The poor, wretched Chinese will doubtless require a great deal of instruction to enable them to understand the precise necessity for the latter dignity. The church evidently does not recognise or patronise the principles of political economy, as they would make the supply of bishops create the demand instead of following it.

LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY.—On the evening of Thursday last, a special meeting on behalf of the effort now making by the London Missionary society for China, was held in the new public room, Bristol. That large room, capable of holding seventeen hundred people, was crowded to excess; indeed, so lively was the interest felt in this movement, that great numbers were unable to obtain admission. W. D. Wells, Esq., presided; the Revs Messrs Crisp, Jack, Tidman, Davis (late of Taunton), Roper, Lacroix, Haynes, Lucy, and Gregory, addressed the audience. Seldom has a meeting been held at which the sentiments advanced have met with a more cordial response: this applied especially to the speeches of the deputation from the parent society, Messrs Tidman and Lacroix, whose powerful allusions to China and India called forth the strongest sympathy. An attempt was made, by a party of socialists (for whom the room, recently purchased by some Christian friends, was originally fitted up), to disturb the meeting; they were, however, speedily removed by the police, and the business of the evening proceeded to its termination most harmoniously. The sum

raised was, according to the *Bristol Mercury*, about £400.

HENRIETTA STREET CHAPEL.—The church at Henrietta street, Brunswick square, resolved, at its last meeting, "That, for the future, it would welcome to the full enjoyment of all its spiritual privileges Christian members of all denominations." May the time soon come when every section of the church shall go not only thus far, but when every rule which makes differences of opinion cause for subdivisions in the church shall be also repealed; that so denominational titles may be lost in the one universal name of Christian.—*From a Correspondent.*

MARRIAGES.

Feb. 14, at Dumfries, Mr JAMES POTTS, secretary to the Newcastle-upon-Tyne Marine Insurance company, to ISABELLA SCOTT, youngest daughter of the Rev. W. DUNLOP, of Dumfries.

Feb. 21, at Stepney meeting, by the Rev. H. Quick, Mr JOSEPH PARKES, of Jubilee street, Commercial road east, to Miss HARRIET IRVIN HOLDEN, No. 3, Victoria place, Mile end road.

Feb. 5, at Newcastle, in Gibson street chapel, by the Rev. John Ward, Mr MICHAEL YOUNG, ship broker, to Miss JANE EMLEY.

Feb. 15, at Hale Leys independent chapel, Aylesbury, by the Rev. H. J. Gates, Mr J. GRAINGER, to MARTHA, youngest daughter of the Rev. W. GUNN.

Feb. 16, at the independent chapel, Monmouth, by the Rev. D. Blow, the Rev. W. PINN, of Whitechurch, to Miss MARY ANN WATKINS, of the same place.

Feb. 16, at the baptist chapel, Bourton-on-the-Water, by the Rev. J. Cubitt, the Rev. JOHN MORTIMER STEPHENS, of York street chapel, Bath, to SOPHIA, fourth daughter of the late Mr T. HANKS, of Little Rissington.

Feb. 18, at St Mildred's, Poultry, by the Rev. John Champneys Minchin, M.A., Mr WILLIAM FAXON, of Barbican, to MARIA DRAPER, eldest daughter of Daniel Higgin, Esq.

DEATHS.

Feb. 15, at Airthrey castle, Lord ABERCROMBY, in his 74th year. Lord Abercromby has left one son, Colonel Abercromby, lieutenant of Clackmannanshire, and late M.P. for the county of Stirling, and two daughters, the eldest of whom is married to the Right Hon. Fox Maule.

At his seat Newpark, near Waterford, for which city he had been long the zealous representative, Sir JOHN NEWPORT. Sir John was a genuine Irish whig.

After a short illness, Sir T. HESKETH, Bart. He only succeeded to the baronetcy in August last. The deceased was born in 1799.

On Sunday, the 12th inst, the vicar of St Sepulchre's church, the Rev. J. NATT, B.D., having gone through his duties at the parish church, apparently in his usual health, was shortly after five o'clock in the afternoon found dead in his drawing-room.

Feb. 9, at Ashton Keynes, Mrs BETTY FRY, in the 70th year of her age. She was much respected by all who knew her, and has left a large circle of relatives and friends to lament her death. The deceased was one of the honoured founders of the congregational interest in this village.

Feb. 12, of consumption, in the 15th year of her age, SARAH JANE SCATTERGOOD, second daughter of the Rev. Thomas Scattergood, minister of the methodist new connexion, Sheffield south circuit.

Feb. 18, at his residence, St Alban's, Herts, Mr CHARLES YOUNG, after a painful illness, borne with exemplary patience. He was for some years a respected deacon of the baptist church in that town, and formerly of Eagle street, London.

Trade and Commerce.

LONDON GAZETTE.

Friday, Feb. 17.

BANKRUPTS.

ADAMSON, WILLIAM, Hexham, Northumberland, butcher, March 6, April 3: solicitors, Messrs Fosters and Evans, Bedford row, London, and Mr E. Welford, Hexham.

COTTRILL, JOHN PIGEON, Worcester, grocer, Feb. 24, March 21: solicitors, Messrs Jones and Son, Millman place, Bedford row, London, and Messrs Arnold and Co., Birmingham.

DAVIS, JAMES PAINTER, Bromley, Kent, innkeeper, Feb. 28, March 31: solicitor, Mr Atkins, White Hart court, Lombard st. DUNN, WILLIAM, Barnstable, Devonshire, carrier, March 1, April 5: solicitors, Mr R. J. Bencaft, Barnstable, and Messrs Maughan and Kennedy, Chancery lane, London.

FAWCETT, THOMAS, Whipsnade, Bedfordshire, cattle dealer, Feb. 28, March 30: solicitors, Messrs Dyne and Co., Lincoln's inn fields.

GREGORY, AARON, Dover, Kent, linen draper, March 7, 31: solicitors, Messrs H. W. and W. C. Sole, 68, Aldermanbury.

JERVIS, HENRY ZACHARIAH, 41, Moorgate street, city, scrivener, Feb. 24, March 29: solicitor, Mr Kine, 19, Gracechurch street.

LEWIS, JOHN, Fernhill, Shropshire, draper, March 27: solicitors, Messrs Harper and Parry Jones, Whitechurch, Shropshire, and Mr Hodgson, Birmingham.

PARIENTE, JUDAH DE JACOB, Bury street, St Mary Axe, City, merchant, Feb. 25, March 24: solicitors, Messrs Hill and Matthews, St Mary Axe.

PATTON, THOMAS, Swan street, Newington, Surrey, iron founder, March 6, 30: solicitor, Mr Anderson, Cornhill.

SARTAIN, JAMES, late of Broughton Gifford, Wiltshire, but now of Corsham, Wiltshire, sheep dealer, March 6, April 6: solicitors, Mr Fluder, 1, Egmont place, London, and Mr G. Pinner, Chippenham.

TOWNE, JEREM, George street, Spitalfields, chocolate manufacturer, March 1, 31: solicitors, Messrs Lawrence and Blenkarne, 32, Bucklersbury.

WALTON, JAMES, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, saddler, March 6, April 3: solicitors, Messrs Williamson and Hill, Gray's inn, London, and Mr H. Ingledew, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

CADELL, PHILIP, jun., and WILLIAM, Edinburgh, manufacturing chemists, Feb. 22, March 15.

CAMERON, DUNCAN, Pollock, Argylshire, grazier, Feb. 23, March 16.

RANKIN, JAMES, Kilmarnock, upholsterer, Feb. 23, March 23.

SUTHERLAND, GEORGE, Glasgow, manufacturer, Feb. 21, March 15.

TAYLOR, ALEXANDER, Glasgow, grocer, Feb. 22, March 14.

Tuesday, February 51.

The following building is certified as a place duly registered for solemnising marriages, pursuant to the act of 6 and 7 William IV., cap. 85:—

Elswick chapel, Elswick, Lancashire. R. Thompson, superintendent registrar.

BANKRUPTS.

CHALLAN, JOHN, Sunderland, Durham, timber merchant, March 10, April 7: solicitors, Messrs Swaine and Co., 6, Frederick's place, Old Jewry, London, and Mr Joseph Young, Sunderland.

EVANS, JOHN, Torquay, Devonshire, ironmonger, March 1, April 5: solicitors, Messrs Terrell and Roberts, Exeter, and Messrs Thompson and Co., Cannon street.

FOSTER, JOHN LAMBERT, Jewry street, Aldgate, coach maker, March 1, 29: solicitor, Mr Hopgood, 202, Bishopsgate street, London.

MASON, RICHARD, St Alban's, Hertfordshire, corn dealer, March 2, April 8: solicitors, Messrs Bridger and Blake, Finsbury circus, London.

OXBOROUGH, MARGARET, Stockport, Cheshire, pawnbroker, March 2, 31: solicitor, Mr W. H. Ashurst, 137, Cheapside, London.

ROBINSON WILLIAM, Liverpool, dealer, March 8, April 4: solicitors, Mr Harry Alexander Ewer, Liverpool, and Mr Andrew Storey, Gray's Inn.

SEABORN, GEORGE, Berkeley, Gloucestershire, baker, March 7, April 12: solicitors, Messrs Aston and Wallis, New Broad street, London, and Messrs Bishop and Wells, Dursley.

STANYON, JOHN, Lowestoft, Suffolk, victualer, March 4, and April 4: solicitors, Messrs Sharp and Co., Bedford row, London.

VICKERS, ABRAHAM, Manchester, innkeeper, March 7, 24: solicitors, Messrs Bagshaw and Stephenson, Manchester.

WRIGHT, EDWARD, and WRIGHT, GEORGE, Bodmin, Cornwall, spirit dealers, March 1, April 5: solicitors, Mr G. S. Baron, Plymouth, and Messrs Poole and Gamlen, Gray's inn, London.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

BROWN, JOHN, Edinburgh, engraver, Feb. 25, March 22.

M'FARLANE, ROBERT, and SIMSON, DANIEL, Glasgow, ironmongers, Feb. 27, March 20.

M'ALLISTER, ARCHIBALD, Glasgow, writer, Feb. 27, March 20.

BRITISH FUNDS.

There have been no extensive transactions in the market since our last, but prices have upon the whole rather advanced, in consequence of the general abundance of money.

	Wed.	Thur.	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.
3 per cent. Consols	91	95	95	95	95	95
Ditto for Account	95	95	95	95	95	95
3 per cents Reduced	95	95	95	95	95	95
3 per cents. Reduced	102	102	102	102	102	102
New 3 per cent.	101	101	101	101	101	101
Long Annuities	12	12	12	12	12	12
Bank Stock	178	178	176	177	176	176
India Stock	268	268	—	—	—	—
Exchequer Bills	62pm	63pm	65pm	64pm	64pm	65pm
India Bonds	65pm	63pm	63pm	65pm	—	—

RAILWAY SHARES.

Birmingham and Derby	41	London and Brighton	35
Birmingham & Gloucester	48	London & Croydon/Trunk	—
Blackwall	5	London and Greenwich	44
Bristol and Exeter	56	Ditto New	—
Cheltenham & Gt. Western	31	Manchester & Birm.	—
Eastern Counties	9	Manchester and Leeds	72
Edinburgh and Glasgow	46	Midland Counties	64
Great North of England	60	Ditto Quarter Shares	—
Great Western	93	North Midland	63
Ditto New	68	Ditto New	—
Ditto Fifties	17	South Eastern and Dover	22
London and Birmingham	206	South Western	63
Ditto Quarter Shares	—	Ditto New	—

FOREIGN FUNDS.

Austrian	—	Mexican	30
Belgian	103	Peruvian	18
Brazilian	76	Portuguese 5 per cents	43
Buenos Ayres	26	Ditto 3 per cents	25
Columbian	23	Russian	116
Danish	86	Spanish Active	19
Dutch 2 1/2 per cents	54	Ditto Passive	4
Ditto 5 per cents	103	Ditto Deferred	101

MARKETS.

GRAIN, MARK LANE, Feb. 20.

Although the show of wheat was not large, and the condition of the samples tolerably good, the trade opened dull. Really fine qualities realised nearly former rates, but secondary descriptions were 1s. to 2s. per qr lower.

The quantity of barley on sale was small, and, fine malting parcels being in request, previous prices were realised.

Beans were dull of sale, and 1s. per qr cheaper. Peas moved off very slowly, but we do not consider prices lower.

The trading business done in oats was at about last Monday's currency.

Wheat, Red New	45 to 50	Malt, Ordinary	46 to 52
Fine	48 to 52	Pale	54 to 57
White	48 to 52	Peas, Hog	26 to 29
Fine	52 to 57	Maple	29 to 31
Rye	30 to 34	Boilers	30 to 33
Barley	23 to 26	Beans, Ticks	25 to 28
Malting	26 to 32		

Beans, Pigeon	30 to 32	DUTY ON FOREIGN CORN.	
Harrow	29 to 31	Wheat	20s. 0d.
Oats, Feed	16 to 18	Barley	9 0
Fine	20 to 22	Oats	8 0
Poland	20 to 23	Rye	11 6
Potato	19 to 22	Beans	11 6
		Peas	11 6

WEEKLY AVERAGE FOR FEB. 17.		AGGREGATE AVERAGE OF THE SIX WEEKS.	
Wheat	47s. 5d.	Wheat	48s. 1d.
Barley	27 1	Barley	27 0
Oats	16 11	Oats	16 11
Rye	30 1	Rye	29 7
Beans	27 5	Beans	27 7
Peas	30 1	Peas	29 11

SEEDS.

The demand for cloverseed was excessively slow, and considerable difficulty was experienced in making sales. In other descriptions of seeds scarcely anything was passing. The inquiry for both linseed and rapeseed cakes was slow, and the latter were somewhat easier to buy.

Linseed	per qr	Clover	per cwt
English, sowing	48s. to 56s.	English, red	40s. to 56s.
Baltic, ditto	—	Ditto, white	42 to 58
Ditto, crushing	42 to 45	Flemish, red	42 to 46
Medit. & Odessa	45 to 46	Ditto, white	50 to 53
Hempseed, small	35 to 38	New Hamb., red	—
Large	46 to 48	Ditto, white	40 to 60
Canary, new	62 to 63	Old Hamb., red	40 to 43
Extra	64 to 65	Ditto, white	—
Caraway, old	—	French, red	40 to 48
New	42 to 44	Ditto, white	50 to 53
Ryegrass, English	30 to 42	Coriander	10 to 16
Scotch	18 to 40	Old	16 to 20
Mustard	per bushel	Rapeseed	per ton
Brown, new	9 to 11	English, new	33l. to 35l.
White	9 to 10 1/2	Linseed cakes	
Trefoil	18 to 22	English	9l. 10s. to 10l. 0s.
Old	12 to 16	Foreign	5l. 15s. to 6l. 0s.
Tares, new	4 to 5	Rapeseed cakes	5l. 5s. to 6l.

PROVISIONS, LONDON, Feb. 20.

No material change has occurred in the butter market. The cold weather imparted more firmness to the holders, and the transactions increased. The currency may be quoted—for Carlow, 70s. to 96s.; Waterford, 66s. to 80s.; Cork, 80s. to 82s.; Limerick, 72s. to 74s.; Belfast, 78s. to 84s.; Sligo, 64s. to 68s. Foreign was in better request—Friesland, 114s. to 118s.; Kiel, 80s. to 104s. In singed bacon the demand has again been dull, without change in price; 32s. to 36s. are the prevailing rates. Bale and tierce middles have met a slow sale, at from 31s. to 34s. per cwt. Hams in steady, not brisk demand, without alteration in value. Lard has sold rather better, but a trifle lower in price.

HOPS, BOROUGH, Monday, Feb. 20.

The quantity of business doing is rather limited. There is a short supply, and much firmness in the rates, which we quote as follows:—Pockets 184l. 60s. to 70s.; choice do, 70s. to 84s.; bags 184l. 60s. to 80s.; pockets, old do, 35s. to 42s. per cwt. Pockets 1842—East Kent, 101s. to 141s.; Wexford of Kent, 80s. to 89s.; Sussex, 77s. to 83s.; and Farnham, 140s. to 160s. per cwt.

BUTCHER'S MEAT, SMITHFIELD, Monday, Feb. 20.

In consequence of the very large quantities of meat offering in the dead markets, which are selling at a great sacrifice, together with the unfavourable state of the weather, the beef trade was in a very depressed state; in fact, this was one of the duller markets experienced for many weeks past. Notwithstanding the salesmen submitted to a reduction of from 2d. to 4d. per 8lbs., a large number of the inferior qualities was driven away unsold at the close of business.

Price per stone of 8lbs. (sinking the offal).

Beef	2s. 10d. to 4s. 2d.	Veal	3s. 10d. to 4s. 10d.
Mutton	3 0 to 4 4	Pork	3 1 to 4 1

HEAD OF CATTLE AT SMITHFIELD.				
Beasts.	Sheep.	Calves.	Pigs.	
Friday 616	2,540	173	361	
Monday 3,113	26,220	94	392	

NEWGATE AND LEADENHALL MARKETS, Monday, Feb. 20.

Per 8lbs. by the carcass.				
Inferior Beef 2s. 6d. to 2s. 10d.	Inf. Mutton 2s. 4d. to 3s. 0d.			
Middling do 2 10 .. 3 0	Mid. ditto 3 0 .. 3 4			
Prime large 3 0 .. 3 2	Prime ditto 3 6 .. 3 8			
Prime small 3 4 .. 3 6	Veal 3 8 .. 4 10			
Large Pork 3 0 .. 3 8	Small Pork 3 10 .. 4 2			

POTATOES, BOROUGH, Monday, Feb. 20.
The receipts since our last are as annexed: viz., from Yorkshire, 1,295 tons; Scotland, 840; Devon, 365; Kent and Essex, 60; Jersey and Guernsey, 425; Wisbech, 90; total, 3,075 tons.
York reds..... 50s. to 60s. Kent, whites 40s. to 45s.
Scotch ditto 50 .. 55 Guernsey ditto .. 40 .. 50
Devons 50 .. 55 Wisbech 40 .. 45

COTTON.
The demand for cotton has been good, and prices have been steady; though the supply has continued abundant, there has been less disposition to press sales.

WOOL.
We cannot report any improvement in any branch of the wool trade; on the contrary less is doing, and in order to effect sales a shade lower prices have been submitted to.

Down ewes 0s. 10d. to 0s. 10½d.	Hf-bred hogs 1s. 0d. to 1s. 0½d.
Down teggs 0 11 .. 1 0	Flannel wool 0 8½ .. 1 0
Wethers 0 10 .. 0 11	Blanket wool 0 5 .. 0 7½

HAY, SMITHFIELD, Feb. 18.—At per load of 36 trusses.
Coarse Meadow 60s. to 78s. New Clover Hay 80s. to 110s.
New ditto Old ditto
Useful old ditto 80 .. 81 Oat Straw 44 .. 47
Fine Upland do 85 .. 90 Wheat Straw 48 .. 50

COAL EXCHANGE, Feb. 20.
Lambton's, 19s. 6d.; B. Hetton's, 20s. 3d.; Hetton's, 19s. 9d.
Ships arrived this week, 111.

GROCERIES, TUESDAY, FEB. 21.
TEA.—10,000 packages passed the sale to-day; of these about 5,000 were sold. Of the 70,000 packages which have passed the sale, about 32,000 are sold. Congon, 1½d. to 1s. 9d.; Pekoe, 1s. 9d. to 2s. 6d.; Pouchong, 1s. 3d. to 1s. 5d.; Twankay, 1s. 6d.; Orange Pekoe, 2s. 6d.
COFFEE.—1,300 bags Ceylon were offered for public competition, but only partly sold. The market is still very flat; good ordinary sold at 50s. to 51s.; ordinary, 48s. to 49s. per cwt.
SUGAR.—The trade are still buying very sparingly, and the purchases in the B. P. market only amount to 300 hhds and tierces. Prices are not lower, and the market is not overstocked. 7,000 bags Mauritius, and 6,500 bags Bengal were sold by public auction at former rates. The foreign market is very firm. 1,120 chests Bahia were sold by auction at an advance of 6d. to 1s. per cwt. There was not much business in the refined market. Good standard lumps are 72s. to 72s. 6d.; brown grocery, 71s. to 71s. 6d. per cwt; bonded crushed, 27s. to 27s. 3d. per cwt.
TALLOW.—Prices are still falling. On the spot, best St. Petersburg yellow candle is 43s. to 43s. 6d.; for fine, 42s. to 42s. 6d.; and not any large sales could be made at these low rates.

Advertisements.

THE LONDON MISSION IN JAMAICA
INEXPEDIENT AND UNNECESSARY. A Letter addressed to the Directors of the London Missionary Society: in which the Dissensions between their Missionaries and the Baptists are traced to their Cause, and the Remedy suggested. By THOMAS PEWTERESS, Esq.
London: G. and J. DYER, 24, Paternoster row.
Price Sixpence.

SCULPTURE, PAINTING, AND ARCHITECTURE.
LECTURES AT THE ROYAL ACADEMY.
The very general satisfaction that has been expressed at the publication of Professor COCKERELL'S LECTURES ON ARCHITECTURE, has induced the Proprietors of the ATHENÆUM to make such arrangements as will ensure Full and Correct Reports of Sir RICHARD WESTMACOTT'S LECTURES ON SCULPTURE, and Professor HOWARD'S LECTURES ON PAINTING. The First, by Sir Richard Westmacott, appears in the ATHENÆUM of this day, Feb. 18, which also contains the Fifth of Professor Cockerell's Lectures on Architecture; with the customary Reviews of New Books, &c., &c. The First Lecture by W. Howard, Esq., will appear in the ATHENÆUM of Saturday next, Feb. 25.

In 8vo, price 6s. boards.
THE COLD WATER SYSTEM: an Essay, exhibiting the real merits, and most safe and effectual employment, of this excellent System in Debility, Indigestion, Costiveness, Asthma, Cough, Consumption, Rheumatism, Gout, &c., with Cautionary Remarks, and some New Cases. By T. J. GRAHAM, M.D., &c.
"We have been particularly pleased with his cautionary remarks; they are reasonable and instructive. It will disabuse the mind of a great deal of prejudice on this now important specific."—*County Herald*.

Published by SIMPKIN and Co., Stationers' court; and HATCHARD and SON, 187, Piccadilly.
The object of the author is to point out the truth on this subject—to supply a safe guide.

Patronised by her most gracious Majesty ADELAIDE, the Queen Dowager. Price 21s. cloth, illustrated with numerous Engravings, including a Map of the Forest, and Geological Sections, coloured.

THE HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF CHARNWOOD FOREST (Leicestershire). By T. R. POTTER. With an Appendix on the Geology, Botany, and Ornithology of the District; the Geology, by J. B. JONES, Esq., M.A., F.G.S.; the Botany, by the Rev. ANDREW BLOXAM, M.A., and CHURCHILL BARRINGTON, Esq., Scholar of St John's College, Cambridge; and the Ornithology, by CHURCHILL BARRINGTON, Esq.
Just published, music folio, price 15s. cloth, gilt edges.
The BOOK OF BALLADS. By S. MULLEN, Author of "The Cottager's Sabbath," &c., &c. The Music by J. THIRLWALL.
London: HAMILTON, ADAMS, and Co., and TYAS, Paternoster row. R. ALLEN, Nottingham. E. ALLEN, Leicester.

THE SELF-INSTRUCTING LATIN CLASSIC: whereby a perfect knowledge of the Latin Language may be readily acquired, without burdening the memory with the multifarious rules of Syntactical Grammar, the searching a Dictionary for the interpretation of words, or even requiring the assistance of a Classical Tutor. By W. JACOBS. In Twelve Parts, at 1s. each; or in Two Vols, price 7s. each.

COMPLETE GUIDE TO THE FINE ARTS. In Six Parts, at 1s. each; or complete, 7s. cloth. Part 1 contains the whole Art of Oil Painting. Part 2, Drawing and Sketching from Nature. Part 3, Drawing in Perspective. Part 4, Miniature Painting; Grecian or Persian Painting. Part 5, Engraving on Wood and Copper, and Lithographic Drawing. Part 6, Painting in Water Colour, Flower Painting, Oriental Tinting, &c.
BACCHUS: an Essay on the Nature, Causes, Effects, and Cure of Intemperance. The Price Essay. By R. B. GUNDRON, L.L.D. Second Edition, greatly enlarged, and carefully revised throughout. In Twelve Parts, at 6d.; or cloth, 7s. 6d.
TEMPERANCE TALES. 23 Numbers, at 2d.; or Two Vols, 2s. 6d. each, with Engravings.
The CRACK CLUB. 35 Numbers, at 1d.; or 2 vols, 2s. 6d. each, with Engravings.
A LECTURE on the HEREDITARY TENDENCY OF DRUNKENNESS. By J. L. LEVISON. 1s.
FROST'S MENTAL ARITHMETIC. 1s.
W. BRITAIN, 11, Paternoster row.

THE SELF-INSTRUCTING LATIN CLASSIC: whereby a perfect knowledge of the Latin Language may be readily acquired, without burdening the memory with the multifarious rules of Syntactical Grammar, the searching a Dictionary for the interpretation of words, or even requiring the assistance of a Classical Tutor. By W. JACOBS. In Twelve Parts, at 1s. each; or in Two Vols, price 7s. each.

COMPLETE GUIDE TO THE FINE ARTS. In Six Parts, at 1s. each; or complete, 7s. cloth. Part 1 contains the whole Art of Oil Painting. Part 2, Drawing and Sketching from Nature. Part 3, Drawing in Perspective. Part 4, Miniature Painting; Grecian or Persian Painting. Part 5, Engraving on Wood and Copper, and Lithographic Drawing. Part 6, Painting in Water Colour, Flower Painting, Oriental Tinting, &c.

BACCHUS: an Essay on the Nature, Causes, Effects, and Cure of Intemperance. The Price Essay. By R. B. GUNDRON, L.L.D. Second Edition, greatly enlarged, and carefully revised throughout. In Twelve Parts, at 6d.; or cloth, 7s. 6d.
TEMPERANCE TALES. 23 Numbers, at 2d.; or Two Vols, 2s. 6d. each, with Engravings.
The CRACK CLUB. 35 Numbers, at 1d.; or 2 vols, 2s. 6d. each, with Engravings.
A LECTURE on the HEREDITARY TENDENCY OF DRUNKENNESS. By J. L. LEVISON. 1s.
FROST'S MENTAL ARITHMETIC. 1s.
W. BRITAIN, 11, Paternoster row.

This day ready, 18mo. One Shilling.
MODERN MIRACLES CONDEMNED BY REASON AND SCRIPTURE: being Strictures on the Rev. R. Young's (Wesleyan) "Entranced Female;" Dr Clanny's "Miraculous Case of Mary Jobson;" and "The Haunted House at Willington." With Letters from Dr Clanny, Rev. R. Young, and the Rev. George Cubitt, Editor of the *Wesleyan Magazine*. By PHILIP VERITAS.
London: W. E. PAINTER, 312, Strand.

Just published, price Sixpence.
THOUGHTS ON IRELAND. Reprinted from the *Baptist Magazine* for January, 1843. With an Appendix, occasioned by a Letter addressed to the Writer by Mr Richard Raby. By J. P. MURSELL, of Leicester.
London: T. WARD and Co., Paternoster row.
J. BURTON, Leicester.

NATURAL HISTORY.
Just published, price Five Shillings.
A GENERAL HISTORY OF ANIMALCULES, with the Methods of Procuring and Viewing them under the Microscope. Illustrated by Five Hundred Engravings of Fusoria. By ANDREW PRITCHARD, M.R.I.
WHITTAKER and Co., Ave Maria lane.

Just published, Part I., price 1s., to be continued Monthly, of
THE HISTORY OF CHINA, PICTORIAL AND DESCRIPTIVE: exhibiting a complete and familiar view of this extraordinary people and their government, from the earliest period to the present time. By MISS CORNER, author of "Questions on the History of Europe," the "Historical Library," &c., &c. Illustrated with Plates, executed in the New Style of Tint, and superior Wood engravings, from accurate local drawings.
To be completed in Seven monthly parts, and followed by the HISTORY OF INDIA, in about the same number of parts.
London: DEAN and Co., Threadneedle street; and, by order, of every Bookseller in the kingdom.

FISHER'S PICTORIAL HISTORY OF CHINA AND THE CHINESE.—FROM AUTHENTIC SKETCHES.
CHINA ILLUSTRATED.—In a Series of Views, displaying the Scenery, Architecture, Social Habits, &c. of this extraordinary people.—The Drawings by THOMAS ALLOM, Esq.—Descriptions by Rev. G. N. WRIGHT, M.A.—In Monthly Parts, each containing Four highly-finished Line Engravings on Steel, price 2s.

"A work which seems likely to show us what the natural beauties of China really are; how gorgeous its edifices, and how singular the customs of its people. Much care has evidently been bestowed on this publication, and it bids fair to become decidedly popular, for it contains all the elements of popularity."—*Morning Herald*, Feb. 4th, 1843.
NEW WORK BY MRS. ELLIS.
Dedicated by Especial Permission to her Majesty.
March 1st will be published, price 10s.,
THE WIVES OF ENGLAND, their Relative Duties, Domestic Influence, and Social Obligations.—By the Author of "The Women of England," (price 9s.) and "The Daughters of England," (price 10s.)
FISHER, SON, and Co., Newgate street, London.

REV. T. SPENCER'S TRACTS.
Just published, price 2d.,
OBSERVATIONS ON THE SCHOOL REGULATIONS FOR BATH AND WELLS; showing their Puseyite and Uncharitable Tendency.
London: JOHN GREEN, 121, Newgate street.
Of whom may be had all the other Tracts of the same Author, as follows, price 2d. each:—

1. The Pillars of the Church of England.
 2. The Prayer Book opposed to the Corn Laws.
 3. Religion and Politics.
 4. Practical Suggestions on Church Reform.
 5. Remarks on National Education.
 6. Clerical Conformity and Church Property.
 7. The Parson's Dream and the Queen's Speech.
 8. The Outcry against the New Poor Law.
 9. The New Poor Law, its Evils, and their Remedies.
 10. Want of Fidelity in Ministers of Religion.
 11. Objections to the New Poor Law considered, Part I.
 12. Ditto, Part II. 13. Ditto, Part III. 14. Ditto, Part IV.
 15. The Reformed Prayer Book of 1842.
 16. The People's Rights; and How to get them.
 17. The Second Reformation. Price 1d.
- * Each of the above Pamphlets weighs, with an Envelope, less than half an ounce.

ROWLAND'S ODONTO, or PEARL DENTIFRICE.—This is an efficient White Powder for the Teeth, solely prepared from Oriental Herbs of the most delightful odour, and of sovereign virtue for strengthening, preserving, and thoroughly cleansing the Teeth. It eradicates tartar from the teeth, removes spots of incipient decay, polishes and preserves the enamel—to which it gives a pearl-like whiteness; and, above all, from its disinfecting properties, gives SWEETNESS TO THE BREATH. As an Anti-scurbutic, the Gums also share in its transcendent powers. Scurvy is eradicated from them, and a healthy action and redness are induced. As the most fragrant aromatic cleanser of the MOUTH, TEETH, and GUMS ever known, ROWLAND'S ODONTO has occupied a distinguished place at the Toilets of the Sovereigns and the Nobility throughout Europe, while the demand for it announces the favour in which it is held by the Public at large. Price 2s. 9d. per box, duty included.

NOTICE.—"A. ROWLAND and SON, 20, Hatton Garden, London," is engraved on the Government Stamp. Be sure to ask for "ROWLAND'S ODONTO."
Sold by the Proprietors, and by respectable Perfumers and Medicine Vendors.

ORGAN MANUFACTORY.—T. C. BATES,
6, Ludgate hill, and 30, Colmore row, Birmingham.
CHURCH OR CHAPEL FINGER ORGANS.

No. 1, Four Stops.
1. Open Diapason 221 Pipes.
2. Stopt Diapason
3. Principal
4. Fifteenth 478 15 0

With shifting movement, and an octave and half of German Pedals, in handsome Gothic cases, painted oak (or any colour), gilt speaking pipes in front, horizontal bellows to blow behind—11 feet high—6 ft 6 in. wide—3 ft 6 in. deep.

No. 2, Six Stops.
1. Open Diapason 332 Pipes.
2. Stopt Diapason
3. Principal
4. Dulciana
5. Twelfth 4110
6. Fifteenth

With two compound Pedals, and an octave and half of German Pedals, in handsome Gothic cases, painted oak (or any colour), gilt speaking pipes in front, horizontal bellows to blow behind—13 ft high—7 ft 6 in. wide—4 ft deep.
The bold and powerful tone of these instruments produces an effect by far more grand than any of the organs of the Old School, containing double the number of stops.

NATIONAL PROVIDENT INSTITUTION,
13, Nicholas lane, King William street, London.
For Mutual Assurance on Lives, Endowments, Deferred Sums Immediate and Deferred Annuities. Enrolled under the Acts of Parliament relating to Friendly Societies.

DIRECTORS.
Chas Pritchett Bousfield, Esq. Robert Ingham, Esq.
John Bradbury, Esq. Joseph Janson, Esq.
William Cash, Esq. Samuel Hayhurst Lucas, Esq.
Thomas Castle, Esq. Charles Lushington, Esq.
James Crofts, Esq. John St Barbe, Esq.
John Feltham, Esq. Richard Shortridge, Esq.
Joseph Hargrave, Esq. Samuel Smith, Esq.
Thomas Hodgkin, M.D.

MEDICAL DIRECTORS.
J. T. Conquest, M.D., F.L.S. | Thomas Bevan, M.D., F.L.S.
SOLICITORS—Messrs Hardwick and Davidson.

THIS INSTITUTION completed the Seventh Year of its establishment on the 15th of December, 1842, and, in accordance with a rule made at its commencement, a careful valuation of its liabilities and assets has been made by an eminent Actuary, Charles Ansell, Esq., for the purpose of making the first division of profits amongst its Members, the gratifying result of which is exemplified in the following instances, showing the profit assigned to policies which have existed from one to seven years.

Policies in existence.	Age at commencement.	Sum Assured.	Amount of Bonus.	Original Premium.	Reduction in Prem. in lieu of Bonus.	Equal to a Reduction per cent on the original Premium of
Years.	Years.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	
7	59	1,000	163 11 0	63 0 0	27 17 2	41
7	46	1,000	115 12 0	40 1 8	16 3 5	40
7	33	2,000	177 10 0	54 1 8	30 11 6	32
7	32	500	44 7 0	13 2 11	5 1 4	39
6	52	2,000	227 19 0	97 11 8	34 5 10	35
6	50	1,000	106 5 0	45 10 10	15 10 7	34
6	31	500	37 2 0	12 17 6	4 2 5	32
5	51	1,000	91 3 0	47 2 6	13 6 4	28
5	41	2,000	146 13 0	69 10 0	18 11 0	26½
5	30	600	37 2 0	15 8 0	4 1 2	26
4	42	500	28 19 0	17 12 1	3 13 3	20
4	28	1,000	46 14 0	24 3 4	4 16 5	19½
3	46	800	37 8 0	31 18 8	4 18 10	15½
3	25	2,000	69 6 0	44 5 0	6 14 11	15½
2	63	3,000	140 15 0	224 15 0	3 11 7	10½
2	26	500	11 11 0	11 10 0	1 2 6	9½
1	42	2,000	26 14 0	70 8 4	3 3 9	4½

The Directors refer with great confidence to the above statement, as exhibiting the most satisfactory proof of the superiority of the principle on which this Institution is founded; namely, that of MUTUAL LIFE ASSURANCE, carried out under the protection and advantages afforded by the Acts of Parliament relating to FRIENDLY SOCIETIES, and fully warranting them in thus directing the public attention to the peculiar privileges secured to all Assurers.

The Report of the Directors to the Annual Meeting of the Members, held on the 15th of December last, Prospectuses, and every other information, may be had on application at the Office, or to the Country Agents.

The next Division of Profits will take place in December, 1847.

JOSEPH MARSH, Secretary.
The business of the Institution will be removed to new Premises, at No. 48, Gracechurch street, during the month of March next.

London, Jan. 17, 1843.

CITY TEA WAREHOUSE, 2, BUCKLERSBURY, CHEAPSIDE.—The System adopted at this Establishment is to supply the Public with TEAS and COFFEES at the wholesale prices for Cash.

This arrangement will, it is presumed, be of immense advantage to large consumers, who will be enabled to purchase on the same Terms as the Trade, and thus save a second profit.

BLACK TEAS. s. d.
Common Tea, from 3s. Good Sound Congou from 3 8
A good Family Tea for general use.
Strong Rough-flavoured ditto 4 0
This Tea we strongly recommend as a sterling Family Tea.
Rich Pekoe Souchong, 4s. 4d. The Finest imported 5 0

GREEN TEAS.
Good Common Green 3s. 8d. Hyson kind 4 0
Hyson Tea 4 4 The Finest Hyson 6 0
Fine Young Hyson .. 5 0 Finest Young Hyson .. 5 4
Gunpowder Tea 6 0 The Finest Gunpowder 7 0

COFFEES.
The alteration in the tariff induces us to pay particular attention to this article, and we quote the following Prices, by which it will be seen that we have made an IMMENSE REDUCTION.
Common Coffee 9d. to 1s. 0d. Good useful ditto 1 2
Good Ceylon (recommended) 1 4 Finest ditto 1 6
This will be found on trial a very excellent Coffee, indeed few Families would require a better.

Finest Java 1s. 8d. Finest West India Coffee 1 10
The Finest old Mocha 2 0

Much has been said about Mocha, yet few persons have tasted Real Mocha, from the very high price it has hitherto been retailed to the public. The Connoisseur will find this a treat.

The best Cocoa .. 8d. Soluble Cocoa 9d.
Soluble Chocolate 1s.

MANSSELL and Co., 2, Bucklersbury, Cheapside.
All Goods must be paid for on delivery.

THE PERFECT SUBSTITUTE for SILVER.
—The material we offer to the public has for the last seven years been found equal to silver in appearance and sweetness, and superior to it in durability. Prices of tea-sets, waiters, candlesticks, and all articles hitherto made in silver—

	Fiddle Pattern.	Threaded Pattern.	King's Pattern.
Table Spoons, full size, per doz.	12s. 6d.	28s. 0d.	30s. 0d.
Dessert do, do	10s. 0d.	21s. 0d.	25s. 0d.
Tea do, do	5s. 0d.	11s. 0d.	12s. 0d.
Gravy ditto	3s. 0d.	6s. 0d.	7s. 0d.

THREE PAPIER MACHE TRAYS for 35s.—A full set of three ornamented Papier Mache Tea trays, Gothic shape, for 35s.; of three Gothic iron trays, 25s.; of three convex trays, 7s. From the depressed state of trade, RIPPON and BURTON have made large ready money purchases in best japanned wares, the most varied and extensive, which are now ready for inspection, at very reduced prices, of which the above are a criterion. A single tray at the same rate.

BRONZED FENDERS and FIRE IRONS.—Embracing every possible variety of style and ornament. Iron fenders, three feet long, 6s.; four feet, 8s.; bronzed ditto, three feet, 8s.; four feet, 10s. 6d.; ditto, with bright tops, 10s. 6d.; very rich scroll bronzed fenders, with steel rod and moulding, and fitted with standard, 32s. Fire irons for chambers, 2s. per set; ditto, steel ditto, 1s. 6d.; handsome ditto, with cut heads, from 8s. 6d.; newest patterns, with elegant bronzed heads, 14s.

A detailed catalogue, with engravings, will be sent (gratis) post free.

RIPPON and BURTON, 12, Wells street, Oxford street. Established 1820.

Printed and Published at the Office, at No. 4, Crane Court, Fleet Street, near Fetter Lane, in the City of London, by JOHN HENRY DAVIS, of No. 76, York Road, Lambeth, in the county of Surrey, on WEDNESDAY, 22nd of FEBRUARY, 1843.